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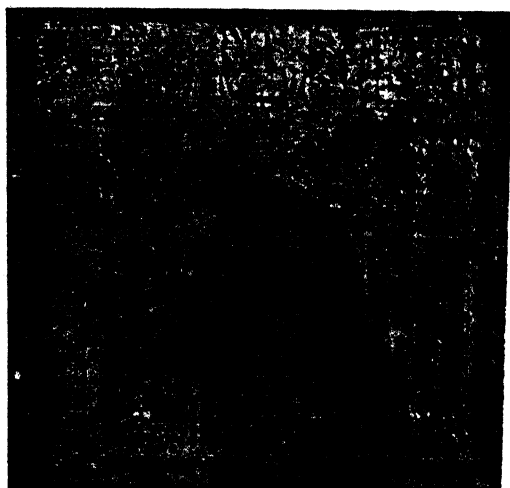
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Owing to scarcity of printing paper on account of war conditions and other causes which were beyond our control, we regret we had to issue *one* Volume only,— Volume XIII—, for the *two* years 1940—41 and 1941—42.

Secretary

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PART I

BIR DHOL

DR. N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M. A., PH. D.

In describing Malik Kāfur's campaign in Ma'bar, Amīr Khusrau mentions 'two cities' in that part of the kingdom which was under Bīr Pāndya, the elder of the two brothers who were jointly governing the country.¹ These two cities, according to the Khaza'in-ul-Futuh, were Barmatpur (Brahmastapur of Elliot) and Bīrdhōl. Bīr Pāndya resided in the latter which was very probably his capital; and the famous golden temple stood in the former. In the Ashiqa or the Dēvalrāni and Khizr Khān, where Khusrau recounts the main events of the campaign, he also mentions the two principal cities of Bīr Pāndya's dominions, Marhatpuri where the celebrated golden temple stood, and Paṭṭan where Bīr Pāndya himself resided.² Therefore, Khusrau refers to the two cities of Bīr Pāndya's kingdom by different names in his two works mentioned above; but this difference is more apparent than real. Barmatpuri is identical with Marhatpuri as shown by the famous 'golden temple' which is common to them. Marhatpur appears to have been corrupted to Barmatpur owing to the peculiarities of the Persian script, and the ignorance of the Muslim scribes of the correct manner of spelling the Hindu proper names. The difference between the two names Barmatpur and Marhatpur when transcribed in the Persian alphabet is not much. A negligent addition of a dot under *meem* in combination with *re* changes 'Mar' to 'Bar'; and the omission of the inverted comma below *hā'i* in combination with *te*

1. The Khaza'in-ul-Futuh- JIH, IX, p. 56.

2. Basē shaharashaba: khushky wa tary ham
Paṭṭan khush karda wa Marhatpūry ham
Paṭṭan rā sākhta Manzil gah-i-khish
But wa butthana dar Marchatpūry bish.

The Dēvalrāni (Aligarh edition, p. 72)

transforms 'hat' to 'mat'. People who are familiar with the manuscripts written in the Persian script know that the addition of a dot where it is not necessary, and omission of the inverted comma under *hā'* occur very commonly in Mss. It must have been in this manner that Marhatpur was transformed into Barmatpur. Marhatpur or Marhatpuri is, no doubt, Marakatanagari mentioned in Gāṅgādevi's *Madhurāvijayam*. This place has been wrongly identified with Vīṇchipuram on the Pālār; but it appears to be another name of the city of Kāñchi.¹ The final verse of the fourth canto ends with:

Kāñci nyasta jaya-prāśasti- abhithas=saṅkīrṇa-varṇa=āśramam
Nity-ānitya niratyardhiraśiṣat-Tuṇḍira-bhūmaṇḍalam

The opening verse of the next canto runs thus:

Atha sa tatra mahālala maṇḍanē
Maratak ālvayabhūji mahāpurī
Viracita sthiti-raprati śāsanam
Jagad-aśvaśm arākṣad anākulam

These verses from the *Madhurāvijayam* leave no room for doubt that Marakatanagari is another name for Kāñchi. Therefore, the Marhatpuri of Khusrau where there were many temples besides the famous golden temple must be Kāñchi, a place which certainly deserves the glowing accounts of the city of the golden temple given by the early Muhammadan historians.

Now, Bir Dhōl, according to the Khaza'in-ul-Futuh, was the capital of Bir Pāndya; it was somewhere in the neighbourhood of the sea, if not actually on the coast. As Khusrau records an imaginary dialogue between the sea and Bir Pāndya who wanted to seek refuge in one of the islands. "I have sailed over thee so oftenGive me refuge in thine islands."² Moreover, Kāfur is said to have advanced straight upon Bir Dhōl from the passes of the Eastern Ghats; on his approach the Rāi fled; and the Mussalmans captured the city.³ A body of the Mussalmans who had allied themselves with Bir Pāndya were in the city; though they were taken prisoners, Malik Kāfur pardoned them.⁴

Khusrau mentions all these facts in his *Dēvalarāni* describing the capture of Paṭṭan also.

"When the imperial army reached Paṭṭan, the misguided Rāihid himself like an ant in a forest. His subjects wandered

1 K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Pandyan Kingdom*.

2 The Khaza'in-ul-Futuh JIH, IX, p. 66.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*, p. 68

disconsolate on all sides, and his elephants and troops went about searching about their lost 'head'.....The Muslim troops of the Rai submitted to the imperial army; the commander (Malik Kafūr) forgave them."¹

The facts mentioned in connection with the capture of both the cities are identical, as shown by the schedule below :

Khaza'in-ul-Futuh.	The Dēvalrāni and Khizr Khān-
1. The first city attacked by Malik Kāfur after he entered Ma'bar was Bīr Dhōl, the capital of Bīr Paṇḍya.	The first city attacked by Malik Kāfur after he entered Ma'bar, was Paṭṭan, the capital of Bīr Pandya.
2. Bīr Dhōl stood on the sea-shore or somewhere near it.	Paṭṭan was a sea-port.
3. When Malik Nāib attacked Bīr Dhol. the Rāi fled, first to Kandūr and then to impenetrable forests.	When Malik Nāib attacked Paṭṭan the Rāi fled from the place and took refuge in the forests.
4. When Bīr Dhōl fell, a body of the Mussalman allies of the Rāi fell into the hands of Malik Kāfur. He forgave them.	When Paṭṭan fell, a body of the Muslim soldiers in the service of the Rai fell into Kāfur's bands. He forgave them.

It is obvious that Khusrau's Bīr Dhōl and Paṭṭan are one and the same place. Bīr Dhōl, however, does not appear to be the correct form of the name. The early Arab geographers refer to it as Biyyar Daval:—

"The capital of Coromandel is Biyyar Daval. It is the residence of the Sultan of Coromandel. Horses are brought to him from other countries."³

That this is the correct form of the word is settled by 'Isamy who rhymes it with 'haval';⁴ but the town appears to have been

1. Habib : *JIH*, IX, p. 219

2. Paṭṭan rā sākhta manzilgah-i-keīsh
Devalrāni, p. 72

3. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri : *Foreign Notices of South India*.

4. Hama khalq aṭarāf az bīm wa haval

- Pana just dar Kōpan wa Bīrdhaval

Futuh-us-Salāṭin, P, 239.

generally spoken of as Paṭṭan or 'the town' on account of its great importance. Though no satisfactory explanation of the name Bīradhāval or Biyyar Deval can be offered in the present state of our knowledge, an attempt may now be made to localise it, as its identity with Paṭṭan has been established. It is true that there are any number of places along the Coromandel coast with names ending in 'Paṭṭan.' As the coastal region extending to the north of the Kāvēri alone is involved in the present discussion, the 'paṭṭans' that are situated to the south of this river need not be taken into consideration here. Among the places with the termination 'paṭṭan', "the paṭṭan" under consideration must have been of such great importance as to be referred to only by its termination to the exclusion of the name proper. Kāvēripaṭṭiṇam has been identified by Yule (Marco Polo, ii, p. 335) with Paṭṭaṇam, because it is supposed to have been the Paṭṭaṇam *par excellence* on the Chola coast during that age; but as pointed out by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, "It does not find any mention in any of the records of the period."¹ There is, however, a place farther up along the coast which appears to be identical with the Paṭṭan mentioned by Khusrau and other Muslim writers. Several epigraphs in and out of Markkaṇam in the Tindivanam taluka of the South Arcot District mention a town called Paṭṭaṇam and a district, Paṭṭaṇa-nāḍu.² Of these, two (28 and 29) refer to Paṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-nāḍu; and two others (26 and 30 of 1919) to Eyiripaṭṭiṇam in the same district. It is not improbable that the names Paṭṭaṇam and Eyiripaṭṭiṇam refer to the same place. They appear to be identical with Markkaṇam as shown by some of the epigraphs mentioned above. According to one of them the temple of Tiruppmichchuvaramuḍaiyar was at Markkaṇam;³ and in another it is said that the temple of Bhāmisvaramuḍaiya was at Paṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭiṇaṇḍu.⁴ It follows from this that Markkaṇam is identical with Paṭṭaṇam and Eiyiri Paṭṭaṇam.⁵ The city appears to have been in existence from early times, for Eiyiripaṭṭiṇam is mentioned in the Tamil literature of the Sangam period. Having due regard for all the facts stated in the foregoing discussion, it is not unreasonable to presume that Bir Dhōl is identical with Markkaṇam.

A different view is however taken by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar with regard to the identity of Bir Dhōl. In his *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, he has made an attempt to identify the place. He believes that Bir Dhōl is a corruption of Vīra Sōḷa, and

1. *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 191

2. *MER*, Nos. 23, 24, 65, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31 and 77 of 1919. Markkaṇam is obviously a later name probably of Muslim origin meaning a settlement of Muslim traders.

3. *MER*, No. 24 of 1919.

4. *Ibid* No. 29 of 1919

5. Balasubrahmanya Iyer: *J. My. S.*, XXI, pp. 413 16.

is identical with Jayamgonḍasōlapaṭṭaṇam which might have had another name Virasōlapaṭṭaṇam.

"Bir Dhul cannot be anything else," says he, "than Vira Sōlan, in the mouth of a northern foreigner unless he meant Chola country under Bir as a whole. Amir Khusrau speaks of the country as the country of Bir, which is synonymous with Vira may be Vira Chōla or Vira Pāṇḍya. Apparently Amir Khusrau means Vira Pāṇḍya. If Bir becomes Vira, Dhul by itself cannot stand for any particular place, and seems to be the Tamil Sōla either the country or the king, thus rendered in the phonology of a northern foreigner."¹

It is evident that Dr. S. K. Aiyangar takes Bir Dhōl to mean the country Vira Chōla or king Vira Chōla; but Khusrau invariably applies the name to a city; and he is in agreement with other Mussalman writers. Abul Feda, for instance, states, as noticed already, that Biyyar Dāval was the capital of Coromandel where the king of the country resided; and 'Isāmy' refers to it as a fortified town. "When that work was accomplished," he says, "that brave man (Malik Kāfūr) captured the provinces of the kingdom; all the people of the provinces, on account of fear and terror, sought refuge in Kōpan and Bir Dhaval."²

Dr. Aiyangar who is not entirely unaware of this fact attempts to get out of the difficulty by transferring what he has called the name of a country or its king to that of a city namely Jayamgonḍasōlapuram. He points out that "Jayamgonḍasōla was a title assumed by the great Chōla Rājādhirāja, the immediate successor of Rajendra I; probably, he founded the city, and by him it was intended to be a royal city as well. Bir Dhōl of the Muhammadan historians is identifiable with this, on the supposition that it might have had an alternative name, Virasōlapuram as the capital of Vira Pāṇḍya.

The identification of Bir Dhōl with Jayamgonḍa Sōlapuram thus rests on a series of assumptions, each improbable in itself, and there is no need to discuss them at any length here.

1. *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 119.
2. *Futuh Salatin*, p. 289.

THE JOINT VILLAGES OF SOUTH INDIA AND COMMUNAL TENURE.

PROF. KUMUDRANJAN CHATTERJEE, M. A., B. L., SERAMPORE.

Students of economics are generally aware of two kinds of land tenure in India - rayatwari and landlord. In the first, land is owned by peasant proprietors who generally cultivate the land themselves, and in the second the owner or owners of land enjoy certain kinds of rent from land, the latter being cultivated generally not by themselves but by tenants. Besides these two kinds of land tenure there was in India, only a few hundred years ago, a third kind of land tenure, which may be called joint, and which was quite unlike the two kinds of tenure now generally prevalent in India. It was a sort of communal ownership of land, in which ownership of land lay not with the individual peasant proprietors nor with a particular family but with all the members of the community in common. The following paragraphs will be devoted to a short description of this system of land tenure which was prevalent in South India a short time ago.

Under this system the right to any particular spot of cultivated land in the village was not vested in any individual, the entire cultivated land along with the common waste and the common fallow land belonged to all the villagers in common. The lands were cultivated by all in common and the net produce after payment of tax was divided according to the share of each. Even a piece of jungle land which was cleared by any individual was not regarded his property but the property of the community and any claim to it was regarded as rank rebellion. Mr. Hewitt in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1897, gives a good description of this sort of land tenure, which he himself observed as prevailing among the aborigines of the Central Provinces in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. "The cultivated lands are all divided into a certain number of lots called knots or Lakas, generally five in number. One of these belongs to the headman, and the remainder are ruled by chosen elders whose duty it is to assist the headman in dividing all the arable rice land into fields. These are so arranged that every cultivator shall receive as his share a proportion of every kind of soil sown with rice exactly equivalent to the share due to the total holding." In the Tamil country a village in which such a division

took place was called 'kareyed'. The distribution of plots of land among the cultivators was however of not a permanent nature. The fields were redistributed periodically so that no tenant should monopolise the best land.¹ This division was made either by the process of casting lots or by common consent. Thus the right of the cultivator was not to a certain plot of land but to a certain share or number of shares in the produce. The only separate land he could hold was the garden or back-yard attached to his house and situated within the limits of the village site. The redistributions were at first made annually and then at an interval of 8 to 30 years. For repair of village buildings such as temples, construction of banks, dams, channels and sub-channels, necessary for irrigating the fields, certain plots were kept apart; after deducting the tenants' share, the rest of the produce of these plots of land was utilised for these common purposes. Another evidence of the communal proprietorship in land in these villages was furnished by the custom of transfer of land. It was essential to the validity of every transfer that it should be sanctioned and authenticated by every individual concerned in the property of his village. Any transfer without the consent of the village community was illegal and void. Further even when a sale or mortgage of any portion of the village land was sanctioned by the village community, the latter could buy it first by exercising the right of pre-emption. Thus strangers even if they were of the same caste as the village cultivators could obtain no settlement within the village without the formal consent of the whole. The admission of a new ryot in a village, when it was agreed upon by the village community, was generally done by throwing the whole of the village land into one lot and then by redistributing it so as to get the required plot of land for the new-comer.²

Now what was the relation between these village communities and the government of the land? With whom were the settlements for land revenue made? At the outset it may appear that the government would make arrangements with a certain definite individual such as the headman of the village, or an elected representative of the village so as to hold him down as responsible for the collection and payment of land revenue. But such was not usually the case. In the settlement papers made under Bhumihari Act of 1869, lands (in Chota Nagpur) were recorded not in the name of individual tillers of each plot, but under the general heading of lands of the knoot, subject to distribution among the clan members according to clan customs. That this was also the custom in earlier times is testified by numerous South Indian inscriptions.

1. Stokes - *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III p. 65.

2. A. C. Burnell - *Elements of South India: Palaeography*.

In some districts of the Madras Presidency this system of land tenure became modified in course of time and came to be known as Palabhogam. Under this system, the village land instead of being distributed annually became permanently divided among the cultivators. The latter could sell their plots of land and when they did so they transferred to the purchaser not only his individual right to certain fields, but also a right to participate in the waste or common arable land in proportion to the share of his right. Thus here we find the original collective tenure being converted into one of severalty and approaching very near the ryotwari tenure of modern times. It is in this way alone that we can account for the wide prevalence of ryotwari tenure in South India in modern times. It is nothing but a modified development of a joint system of land tenure which prevailed here in ancient times.

But have we really any evidence of its general prevalence in ancient times? In trying to answer this question let us first of all examine the condition of land tenure in South India in the early period of British rule there. We shall see then that even at that time (not to speak of 'ancient times') this system of land tenure was widely spread throughout the Deccan. Briggs in his 'Land Tax' says that on the establishment of every Tamil village, as now constituted, the rights of occupancy of the whole land were equally shared by all the vellalar settlers, as a collective body, not bh individually.¹ A. C. Burnell who wrote his 'Elements of South India Palaeography' in the third quarter of the nineteenth century has remarked in one place of his book 'that the system still exists to a great extent in South India'. According to the famous Fifth Report² again there were many such villages in the Tanjore district at the time of its compilation. The committee appointed to report on the project of making a permanent settlement in that district in 1807 found 1774 such villages; Mr. Chisholm,³ settlement officer of Belaspore (1863—'69); noticed the existence of joint villages in the northern part of Chhatisgarh. Another settlement officer, Mr. Place,⁴ of about the same time reported about the vellalar villages of Madras as follows:—"the council, that is the panchyat, determined each year what portion of land each group should undertake, and the village body worked without any corporate or permanent allotment of lands." I have already referred to the fact that when under the Bhumihari Act of 1869 settlements were made in Chota Nagpur they were made not in the name of individual peasant proprietors but of the village communities. Mr. Hewitt who was a

1. Briggs *Land Tax* p. 242.

2. *Fifth Report* p. 830

3. *J. R. A. S.* 1897 : p. 627.

4. *Baden Powell - Indian Village Community* p. 537.

commissioner in the Central Provinces in the middle of the nineteenth century for a long time remarks in J. R. A. S., 1893, page 329. "throughout the whole of this area (the Oraon province of Khokra, Doisa and Petheris) the village lands are held not as individual but common property and the land tilled by each royt is liable to pass into other hands at the time of village redistributions."

Leaving aside the evidence of the modern period, if we go back to the ancient times we find that even then joint villages were very common in South India. No. 40 of *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol. I and an inscription of the reign of Koluttunga Chola I (No. 142 of 192) mention the fact of the annual distribution of village lands. As evidence of communal ownership of land in Chola times may be noticed the terms *sabhamanjikham* and *urmanjikham* in *South Indian Inscriptions* (Vol. III. No. 156, 181, 7) the escheat to the village of land that was in arrears for tax on it (*S. I. I.* III, 162) and the sale of waste land by the village for being reclaimed and put to some specific use (No. 220 of 1901). An inscription of the reign of Sundara Chola from Madhurāntakam records the sale by the Sabha in a public manner of some land described clearly as part of the unappropriated common land of the village, (No. 396 of 1922).

Thus the existence of joint villages, or villages where a communal tenure of land prevailed in South India, or at least in a major portion of South India, is now an indisputable fact. Now whither should we trace the origin of this peculiar system of land tenure in South India? According to Baden-Powell, one of the greatest authorities on Indian villages, these joint villages 'were the growth of special circumstances', and they 'were not the primeval or always existing form of landholding which the people of West, Central and Southern India naturally developed, (*Indian Village Community*, p. 126). The special circumstances which were responsible for the growth of these villages were, according to Baden-Powell, grants of early princes to Brahmins, colonising enterprises by the Vellalar and other castes, secular grants for various purposes and the extension of cultivation to new lands. But is this account of the origin of the joint villages sufficient to explain away the communal land tenure system in the Deccan? When we remember that this system of land tenure prevailed even in the non-Dravidian part of the Deccan (e. g. Chota Nagpur & the Central Provinces) among the pre-Dravidian people who came and settled in India long before the Dravidians, we think that some other explanation is necessary to explain the origin of the joint villages.

The communal origin of land tenure, I think, clearly refers to a matriarchal system among the people where it prevailed. It originated first among the pre-Dravidians of India when the custom of

marriage was still unknown to them. Such being the case hereditary succession to an ancestral estate was out of the question among them. So, naturally, permanent division of the village land among the village people could not be done. It is in the tenure of the barley-growing tribes of the north-west that we find the ideas of individual and family proprietary rights in definite portions of land. They first introduced in India the custom of marriage. With them the land held and tilled by each cattle-owning family was the family property. There were the people who came down in India as the Jats and others and changed the communal tenures of the pre-Dravidians into tenures which we now call ryotwari and landlord. So the conclusion to which we come is that the communal system of land tenure in the joint village of the Deccan originated first among the pre-Dravidians such as the Oraons, Mundas, Khonds and others. Later on it also spread into the far south and was adopted largely by the Dravidians. But as Aryan influence spread more and more into the Deccan, the land tenure of the Aryans, i. e. ryotwari tenure, came in and became firmly established in the South, and in course of time supplanted the primitive communal tenure prevailing there before.

THE SURAPURAM CHIEFS AND SOME SANSKRIT WRITERS PATRONISED BY THEM.

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In 1936, the Catalogus Catalogorum office of the Madras University was supplied with a list of the works of the ancestors of Tirumala Bukkapattāṇam Jātakavidvanmaṇi Veṅkaṭācārya, staying at Amarcinta, Ātmakūr Samsthānam in the Nizam's Dominions, at the suggestion of Mr. S. Pratapa Reddi, B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Hyderabad (Dn.). The list gave us short descriptions of seven authors and their works, chiefly on Viśiṣṭādvaita, a few of which were referred to as also printed. All the authors belonged to a family called after their native home, Bukkapattāṇam and some of them had the title 'Rājaguru'. The following are these authors:—

1. Śrīnivāsa
2. Aṇṇaya dīkṣita
3. Kīrīṭi Veṅkaṭācārya
4. Aṇṇaya (Junior) (?)
5. Bucci Veṅkaṭācārya
6. Raṅgācārya and T. Śrīnivāsācārya

A perusal of the Catalogues of MSS. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Library, the Adyar Library and the Mysore Oriental Library showed that MSS. of many of the works in the above mentioned list of works were available in these libraries. Though Mr. Jātakavidvanmaṇi Veṅkaṭācārya said that, at his leisure, he would send us detailed notes on each of the works mentioned by him, he did not supply us with any further information on these authors and their works. Whereupon I proceeded to do some work on this family of writers and the chiefs who patronised these writers.

The list of works supplied by Mr. Jātakavidvanmaṇi Veṅkaṭācārya could not be accepted wholesale; for, he mentioned Virōdha-varūṭhini-pramāṭhini as a work of Aṇṇayadīkṣita, but it is found as the work of Śrīnivāsa in the Madras Library. [See Descriptive Catalogue No. 4998.] In his list of the works of Śrīnivāsa, the descendent of the author had confused a number of Śrīnivāsas: Thus Rahasyatrayasāra-Gāthāvyākhyā mentioned among Śrīnivāsa's works as available in a MSS. in the Madras Library, Des. No. 5342; and its author is a Bhāradvāja Śrīnivāsā, while our Śrīnivāsa is a Saṭhamārsana. The list mentions similarly Durupadēsadhikkāra and

an Aṣṭadasabhedavicāra, MSS. of both of which are found in the Adyar Library (21. L. 1 and 34. F 26 ; and 9. G. 35 ; pp. 155 and 159 of Part II of the Adyar Catalogue), from which we find that the author is not our Śrīnivāsa, but a Śrīnivāsa, pupil of a Vādhūla Mahācārya. Rāmānuja-siddhānta-saṅgraha given in the list as a work of our Śrīnivāsa is found in a Ms. (Cat. II p. 165a. 10. H. 6) in the Adyar Library and in another in the Madras Library (MD. 4990) as the work of a Śrīnivāsa Rāghava of Śrīvatsa-gōtra son of a Vēṅkaṭārya who got the title Caṇḍamānta from a Śrīnivāsamuni, and a pupil of Kṛṣṇasūri and Raṅganātha. The list discloses great affinity with the Mysore Library Catalogue in which most of the work-names of the list are found ; but, since it is not possible to get extracts for all these MSS. from Mysore and verify the further entries in the list, I shall content myself with a study of this family of writers on the basis by MSS. in the Madras and Adyar Libraries.

SRĪNIVĀSĀCĀRYA

A Śrīnivāśācārya is the most prolific writer of this family. MD. (Madras Descriptive Catalogue) 4894-5, is a Brahmasūtra-vyākhyā of this Śrīnivāsa, called Tattvamārtanḍa. In the first verse the author salutes Rāmānuja, Vedāntadesika, a Śrīnivāsa, Parakāla and a Virarāghavadesika. The next verse salutes one *Jayavara deśika* who belongs to the *Śrīśaila* family and who learnt the Śāstras from one *Ācārya Dikṣita*. Verse three extols Jayavara's brother *Śrīnivāśārya* ; and the next verse mentions his proficiency in the Śātra-dūṣaṇi. In two other introductory verses, the author salutes two other elders, *Vēṅkaṭādhicari* and *Aṇṇayārya*. The next verse is on *Śrīnivāsa Tātārya*. It is followed by verse according to which the author studied Śribhāṣya under a *Śrīnivāsa*. The verse next to it mentions that the author studied under his own elder brother also. The writer describes this work, Tattvamārtanḍa, as a criticism of the Dvaita work Candrikā ; and refers also to two other works of his, *Naya-dyumaṇi* and *Siddhānta-cintāmaṇi* with his own gloss. From the colophon we understand that the author belongs to the Śrīśaila family, that the Śrīnivāsa Tātārya mentioned above is his father, that his mother is Lakṣmāmbā, that Śrīnivāsa mentioned previously as his *guru* (in both Mīmāṃsās) belongs to Kaṇḍinya gōtra and the other *guru* Aṇṇaya mentioned is his own elder brother.

In the list supplied by Mr. Jātakavidvanmaṇi Vēṅkaṭācārya, mention is made of two works under Śrīnivāsa, *Aṇṇādhikaraṇa-maṇjari* and *Aṇṇādhikaraṇa-saraṇi-vivaraṇi*. From MD. 4861-7, we find that the two titles represent but one work. It is by the author of the Tattvamārtanḍa. The verses at the end of this work and the colophon speak of the author's father Śrīnivāsa Tātārya,

elder brother Anṇayārya, mother Lakṣmāmbā, and *guru* Kouṇḍinya Śrīnivasadīkṣita. The additional information in the colophon here is that the author belongs to *Śaṭhamarṣaṇa gōtra*.

MD. 4869 is the same Śrīnivāsa's Ānanda-tāratamya khaṇḍana, a critique again of a Dvaita doctrine.

MD. 4871 is the same author's criticism of the Dvaita view that *Ōmkāra* forms a part of the first Sūtra of Bādarāyaṇa. The fact is called in this MS. *Ōmkāra Vādārtha*, but in MT. (Madras Triennial Catalogue) 1295, the same work carries the title *Nayamaṇi Kalikā*. It is by the latter name that this work is mentioned in the Amarcinta list. The concluding verse of this work mentions the *grandfather* of the author as an *Anṇayārya*. MD. 4872 is another MS. of this same work.

MD. 4883 Jijñāsā darpaṇa - by the same Śrīnivāsa.

MD. 4886 - Jñānaratnaprakāśikā - by the same Śrīnivāsa. Grandfather Anṇaya is mentioned here.

MD. 4888-90 Nātvadarpaṇa - by the same Śrīnivāsa.

MD. 4929 MT. 110(b) 693, 5104(a) represent another work of this writer, - Puccha-brahma-vādanivāsa.

MD. 4932-3. Praṇavadarpaṇa by same author. Subject same as in the author's *Ōmkāra vādārtha* or *Nayamaṇikalikā* noted already.

MD. 4980. Bhēdadarpaṇa by the same writer.

MD. 4996-7. Virōdhanirōdha or Bhāṣyapaduka. in support of the Śrībhāṣya by the same Śrīnivāsa.

MD. 4998. Virōdha-varūṭhīni-pramathīni by the same, on the same theme as the previous work.¹ One of the introductory verses here given gives us additional information; it mentions that the author belongs to *Śrīśaila Bukkapattana* family (*i. e. Tirumala Bukkapattana family*), and along with his father Śrīnivāsa Tātayārya, mentions a Narasiṃha Tātayārya, who is evidently Śrīnivāsa Tātayārya's brother.

श्रीशैल बुक्कपट्टन कुलकलत्रपयोधियामिसा न्यथा ।

नरसिंहनाथाय श्रीनिधनाथदेवशर्को कलये ॥

The colophon also mentions the family as Śrīśaila Bukkapattana-kula.

MD. 5054-5 is another in this author's series styled "Darpaṇa"; it is called Śaṣṭhyarthanirṇaya or Śaṣṭhīdarpaṇa. The author's Jijñāsadarpaṇa is mentioned here.

MT. 1287 - Nayadyumani with Dīpikā, an exposition of the Brahmasūtras in Stotra - form with a gloss, is another work of

1. Is this a reply to the Advaitic work Virōdha-varūṭhīni of Umāmaheśvara (Mysore Catalogue, I, p. 488) ?

Śrīnivāsa. From one of the introductory verses here, we gain the additional information that the author's grand-father *Āṇṇayadīkṣita* had an elder brother named *Veṅkatasutvan*. नत्वा वेङ्कटसुत्वनः पदयुगीम् etc.

MT. 1304 in another in Śrīnivāsa's "Darpaṇa" series, the *Pradhāna pratitantra darpaṇa*.

MT. 2120 is the same author's *Siddhāṇṭa cintāmaṇi*, which according to the note here in the Madras catalogue seems to be known also as *Upādānatva samarthana*. There are four more MSS. of this work in the Madras Library, MT. 2235, 2543(c), 3546(a) and 5051.

Besides the above noticed works on Viśiṣṭadvaita, this Śrīnivāsa has written some poetry and two works pertaining to Dharma śāstra literature. MD. 15636 and MT. 5442(f) represent Śrīnivāsa's work on 'adoption', *Dattaratnapradīpikā*.

MD. 3140 in his *Bhuktidīpikā*, more fully *Grahaṇa-bhuktidīpikā*, dealing with the problem of eating on eclipse days. There is a Ms. of this work in Adyar also. (Catalogue I. p. 114 b).

MD. 12053 is Śrīnivāsa's *Nītisataka*. Here again he refers to *Ācārya dīkṣita*, one of those whom he reveres.

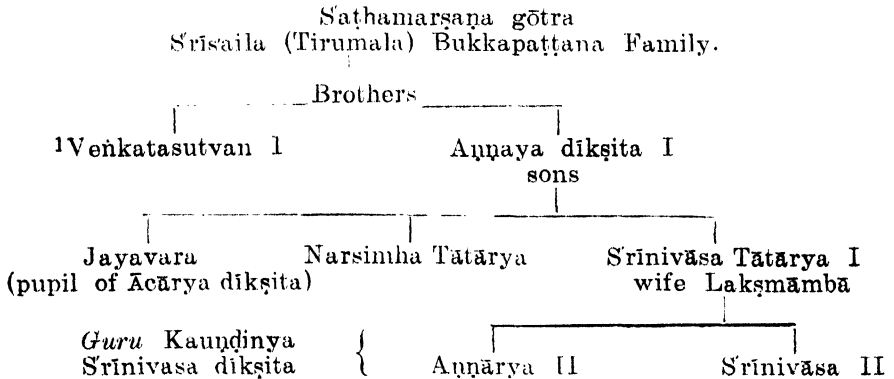
MD. 12132 is a collection of his *Subhāṣita ślōkas*.

Besides these, as I have said at the outset, other works ascribed to him in the *Amaracinta* list are found in the Mysore Catalogue; while some of these ascriptions are wrong, others have not yet been verified by me.

In his *Virodha-varāṇthiṇi-pramāthiṇi*, MD. 4998, Śrīnivāsa refers to another work of his, a criticism, evidently of the *Advaita*.

विरुद्विरोधवारान्थिनिप्रमथिनि कृतमिति तत्रैव द्रष्टव्यम् ।

We can now tabulate our knowledge of this Śrīnivāsa's family as known from the above examined works of Śrīnivāsa:—



1 We shall note later that *Veṅkatasutvan I* might have had a son named *Śrīnivāsa* and another younger brother also named *Śrīnivāsa*.

ANṆĀYĀCĀRYA.

We saw that Śrīnivāsa referred to an elder brother of his named Anṇayaścārya as one of his *gurus*. We may now examine his works.

MT. 1294 is a criticism of a Dvaita viewpoint by Anṇaya, styled Muktau Ānanda-tāratamya-khaṇḍana. Anṇaya's colophon mentions the Sāthamarṣaṇa gotra and his father Śrīnivāsa Tātārya; and the new details we get here are that Anṇaya's mother was named *Veṅkaṭāmbā* and that he had an elder brother under whom he studied, named *Veṅkaṭārya*.

MD. 10600 is this Anṇaya's Stotra on Vedānta desika, called Ācārya vimśatī. Here also, he mentions his mother as *Veṅkaṭāmbā*. The family of the author is also mentioned in this work (इति बुक्कपट्टण कुलम्बुधेदना).

MD. 12295-6 represent the Tattvagunāḍarsa and a commentary on it by this Anṇaya, a campūkāvya in imitation of Veṅkaṭādhvarin's Visvagunāḍarsa. In an introductory verse in the commentary, Anṇaya mentions his grand-father Anṇaya and his elder brother *Veṅkaṭa*, mentioned as *Veṅkaṭasutvan* by his younger brother Śrīnivāsa. Anṇaya also is a pupil of Kaṇḍīya Śrīnivāsa.

MT. 6089^d is the same Anṇaya's sāstraic tract Vyāvahārikatva Khaṇḍanasāra, of which the Adyar Library also possesses Mss. (Mss. No. 22 D 83; first work in that codex; and Mss. No. 34 E 8, second work in that codex).

Besides, we have the Ms. of a Stotra on Kṛṣṇa in 72 verses by this Anṇaya in the Bikaner State Library, called the Abhinavakarnāmrta.¹

In Adyar 23C25, first work in the codex (Catalogue II p. 167b) we seem to have a Śaṣṭhyarthadarpaṇa by Anṇaya.

The title Rasodārabhāṇa occurring in the Amaracintā list under Anṇaya is found in the Mysore Catalogue (I p. 281, 2 MSS) MSS. where the author is specified as *Surapuram Anṇayārya*. Surapuram, as we shall see, was the place to which this family migrated. We have therefore another work of this Anṇaya in this Rasodāra-bhāṇa. With reference to the name Gītarthasāra-saṁgraha mentioned in the Amaracintā list under Anṇaya, I have not been able to verify the information.

VEṆKAṬĀCĀRYA

From a notice of Anṇaya's work, we become acquainted with an elder brother of his named *Veṅkaṭācārya*. Let us now survey his works:

1. This information could be gleaned from the Notes from Bikaner Mss. prepared by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.

MD. 5063-66 represent a work of this Veṅkaṭācārya named *Siddhānta ratnāvali*. The introductory verses describe the Bukka-*paṭṭana* family and the author's father Tātārya. The author's *guru* is referred to as Veṅkaṭācārya.

MD. 5067 is this Veṅkaṭācārya's *Siddhānta-vaijayantī*. The colophon here adds that the author's mother was *Veṅkaṭāmbā*, as mentioned in Appaya's colophons also. The author's *guru* is referred to here also as *Veṅkaṭācārya*.

A third work of this author is *Jagan-mithyātva-khaṇḍana*, available in Mss. 22D83 (second work in the codex) in the Adyar Library (Catalogue II p. 163a).

इयमेवेकदाय्येण तात्याचार्येण सृजिता ।

रचितं वादिभिर्हेन जगन्मिथ्यात्वखण्डनम् ॥

This Veṅkaṭācārya appears also to have composed a hymn on Vedānta *desika* called *Desika aṣṭottara śatanāma stotra*, found in the Adyar Ms. 30 E 49 (catalogue I. p. 213), where we read the beginning and colophon thus:

निवृत्तं ननुयुगेनीम्नां प्रभावो येन वर्णिताः ।

न वेकदाय्ये सविज्ञे वाद्यवतनये नये ॥

इति श्रीजल वेकदाय्यार्थ प्रियवितम् आचार्यनामाष्टोत्रस्तोत्रं सम्पूर्णम् ॥

MT. 5094 is *Ānanda-tāratamya-khaṇḍana* by a Veṅkaṭācārya who is likely to be identical with the above noted author, Veṅkaṭācārya II. The work criticises one Subrahmanyācārya and the Mādhyas.

Of this first son of Srinivāsa Tātārya, the elder brother of Appaya and eldest of Srinivāsa, the *Amarcinta* list does not even speak. We learn from the colophons in mss. of his as well as Appaya's works that their mother was named Veṅkaṭāmbā; but Srinivāsa names his mother as Lakṣmāmbā and in the last verse in MT. 2120, his *Siddhānta cintāmaṇi*, he specifies that Tātārya and Lakṣmāmbā gave birth to him along with Appayārya dīkṣita. Tātārya the father either had two wives or his single wife had both the names Veṅkaṭāmbā and Lakṣmāmbā (probably the familiar combination Veṅkaṭa Lakṣmāmbā).

We can tabulate the full family of Srinivāsa Tātārya thus:

Srinivāsa Tātārya

*Veṅkaṭāmbā and Lakṣmāmbā or Veṅkaṭa Lakṣmāmbā

Veṅkaṭācārya II
(pupil of Veṅkaṭadesika
and *Guru* of next brother
Appaya)

Appayācārya II Srinivāsācārya II
(*guru* of next brother)

pupils of Kaṇḍinya
Srinivāsa dīkṣita

The next Generation:— VEṆKAṬĀCĀRYA III

In MD. 1520, we have a grammar tract, criticising Bhaṭṭoji, called Gajasūtrārtha or Gajasūtravādartha. From the full colophon here we learn that a Veṅkaṭadāsa is its author and that he was the son of Anṇayācārya, the son of Śrinivāsa Tātārya; and that this Veṅkaṭa was a pupil of his junior paternal uncle, Śrinivāsa dīkṣita. In MT. 4264(b), another Ms. of this Gajasūtravādartha, the author is distinguished as Ayyā-Veṅkaṭācārya.

MD. 9901, a stotra called Kṛṣṇa bhava sataka in which the author calls himself Veṅkaṭārya of Śrīsaṭṭa Bukka Paṭṭana Kula is most probably another work of this Veṅkaṭācārya III.

MT. 369(a) is this author's treatise on Alamkāra, Alamkāra-kaustubha. The first verse here salutes God Kṛṣṇa at *Surapuram*, of which we shall speak more later. The account of the geneology here starts with Anṇaya I.

ANṆAYA I

Anṇaya I—Śrinivāsa-Tāta I, who had the titles 'Dantidyoti' and 'Divāpradīpa'.

Anṇaya II—Śrinivāsa II, son of former and pupil of latter, Veṅkaṭa III.

MT. 5439b and 5501 represent a play by this same Veṅkaṭācārya III, called the Śṛṅgārataranṅiṇī. Here again Kṛṣṇa (at *Surapuram*) is saluted; we learn from the prologue here that the author had an elder brother named Śrinivāsa (Śrinivāsācārya III) under whom he studied Mīmāṃsa.

R. 41(a) in the Madras *Telugu Triennial Catalogues* gives us a Telugu Dvīsandhāna Kāvya of this Veṅkaṭācārya, called the Acalātma-ja-pariṇayamu. It describes atonce by *Śleṣa* the marriages of both Sītā and Pārvatī.

Besides these, the Amarcinta list mentions as this Veṅkaṭācārya's works a Criticism of Gadādhara called Janjhāmāruta (may be the work on p. 379 of Mysore Catalogue I), a Śṛṅgārālahari (of Mysore Catalogue I, p. 259, a stotra called also Lakṣmīsataka), a Dasāvātāra stotra, a Hayagrivadaṇḍaka and an Yatirājadaṇḍaka. The Amarcinta list distinguishes this Veṅkaṭācārya as *Kīrti* Veṅkaṭācārya.

BUCCI VEṆKAṬĀCĀRYA OR VEṆKAṬĀCĀRYA IV.

We have up till now learnt that Anṇaya II had two sons, Śrinivāsa III and Veṅkaṭa III. We shall now get acquainted with the third son of Anṇaya II, named *Bucci* Veṅkaṭācārya.

MD. 5005 is *Bucci* Veṅkaṭācārya's Vedāntakārikāvali. The author specifically mentions him as the third son of Anṇaya, evidently to distinguish himself from his elder brother, Veṅkaṭācārya III.

अण्णयार्योभ्वरेन्द्रस्य तार्तीयिकतनुमुवा ।

श्रीमद्वेङ्कटदासेन निर्मिता कारिकावली ॥

Col : * * अण्णयार्यसोमपीथिनः तृतीयसुतेन बुद्धिवेङ्कटाचार्येण * *

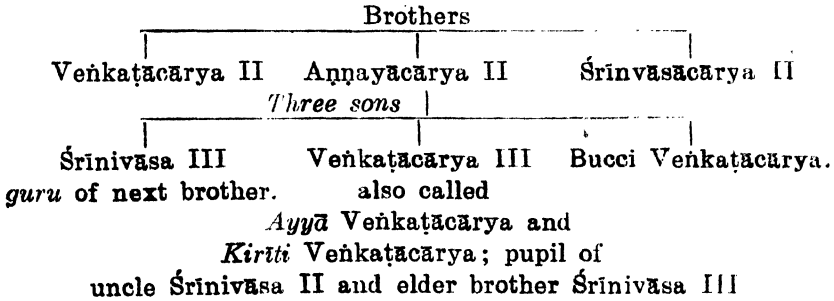
MD. 10352 is a stotra of this Buccī Venkātācārya, Viṣṇusapta vibhakti stotra. Here again the author takes care to describe himself as Aṇṇaya's third son :

विनिर्मलाद्य तिमिलान्ववाय बुद्धपट्टनान्वयाण्ण ययं यज्जनस्तुतीयस्त्तनुमुना ।

प्रणीय वेङ्कार्यययं दामकेन etc ॥

The Amarcinta list does not know this stotra of Buccī Venkātācārya ; but it speaks of three other works ; of these the Abhinava-śrīṅgārarasamañjari is an Alankāra work by one of our Venkātācāryas, for Mysore I p. 639 notes a Ms. of it and specifies the author as Bukkapattanam Venkātācārya. The next is Kalyāṇapurañjana Nāṭaka (of Mysore I p. 375) and the third is a Śrīṅgārasarvasva.

We now get the following further branches of the family tree :—



Besides Aṇṇaya II, second son of Śrīnivāsa Tātārya and elder brother and guru of Śrīnivāsācārya II and younger brother of Venkātācārya II, the Amarcinta list speaks of another Aṇṇaya and credits him with the works Siddhanta ratnāvali, Siddhanta vaijayanti, Desikayasobhāṇa and an Ācāryavimsati. This seems to be a non-existent Aṇṇayācārya. For Ācāryavimsati (MD. 10600) is by Aṇṇaya II, and it has been pointed out above that both Siddhanta ratnāvali and Siddhanta vaijayanti are the works of Venkātācārya II, elder brother Aṇṇaya II. It must be noted that the Amarcinta list does not know Venkātācārya II.

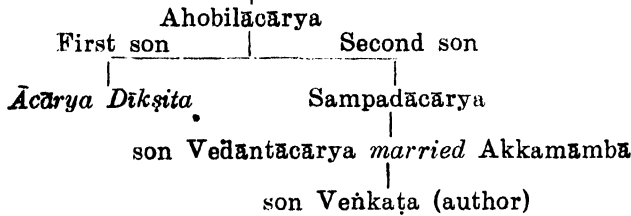
The Amarcinta list mentions further two more authors of this Tirumala Bukkapattanam family, Raṅgācārya with the authorship of four works and Śrīnivācārya, author of 19 works, one of which, a description of the last Great War in Europe shows him as a modern writer. I have not been able to gather any independent information on these two writers.

THE *Gurus* MENTIONED BY THESE WRITERS

Going back again to the three brothers, Veṅkaṭācārya II, Anṇayācārya II and Śrīnivāsācārya II: The eldest mentions one Veṅkaṭadesika as his guru and I have not been able to know anything about this *guru* Veṅkaṭa. The other two brothers mention frequently Kauṇḍinya Śrīnivāsa as their teacher, of whose family we are in a position to know something.

In MD. 12633 we have a Bhāṇa called Rasikajanarasollāsa; it is described fully in Seshagiri Sastri Report, I, with extracts on pp. 85-87. It was written by Veṅkaṭa of the Kauṇḍinya gotra, while yet he was a boy. He gives the following particulars about his ancestors and *gurus*.

Kauṇḍinya Gotra (A family at Kāmasamudra village.)



had his Mantropadesa from a Śrīnivāsādhvarin; and studied under Śrīnivāsācārya, younger brother of Anṇayācārya.

We have noted above that Śrīnivāsa II, younger brother of Anṇaya II, mentions one Ācārya dikṣita. In MD. 4894, his Tattva-mārtanḍa, Śrīnivāsa II refers to this Ācārya dikṣita as the teacher of his seniormost paternal uncle Jayavara; and at the end of his Nīṭisataka, MD. 12053, Śrīnivāsa says that he had himself been blessed by Ācārya dikṣita. We may identify this Ācārya dikṣita with the person of the same name mentioned in the Rasikajanarasollāsabhāṇa as the elder brother of the author Veṅkaṭa's grand-father. The Śrīnivāsādhvarin mentioned by Veṅkaṭa in his Bhāṇa as having given him Mantropadesa is likely to be identical with the Kauṇḍinya Śrīnivāsādhvarin who taught Anṇaya II and Śrīnivāsa II. But what exact relation in the family this Kauṇḍinya Śrīnivāsa bore to the author of the Bhāṇa Veṅkaṭa, we do not know.

In the Madras Library, we have another work which we may consider in connection with our study of the Bukkapattāṇam family. MT. 5719 is Divya sumano guṇa vaijayantī by one Śrīnivāsadaśa, son of Veṅkaṭadikṣita who had a brother named Śrīnivāsa. He describes himself as a pupil of Veṅkaṭa and Ahobila of Kauṇḍinya Gotra. The Veṅkaṭa referred to here as the father of Śrīnivāsadaśa may be Veṅkaṭa I, brother of Śrīnivāsa to the two we already know. If that is so, this author of Divya sumano guṇa vaijayantī will become a cousin

of Jayavara, first son of Anṇaya I and the pupil of an Ācārya dikṣita whom we may take as the Kaṇḍindya Ācārya dikṣita noted above. It will be reasonable then to accept the information in the *Divya sumano guṇa vaijayantī* that its author Śrīnivasadāsa was a student of Ācāryadikṣita's father Kaṇḍinya Ahobala.

THE PATRONS OF THESE WRITERS.

Of the above noted writers, Anṇayācārya II says at the end of his *Tattva guṇadarśa* (MD. 12295) that he was the court poet and preceptor of a chief named Venkaṭa of the Kōsala family, son of the chief Rāghava.

श्रीमत्कोसलवंशमौक्तिकमणेः श्रीराघवश्रीणिभू-

दर्थक्षीरपयोधिजीतमहसः श्रीवैकटक्षमाभूतः ।

आस्थाने स्थितिसारिथ्येन भवता धुर्या तदानीयवां

श्रीशैलारण्यदेष्टीकेन रचितः तन्वायधीर्दणः ॥

Anṇaya II's brother Śrīnivasa II work his *Subhāṣitas* also for the pleasure of this Kōsala Venkaṭa :

श्रीमत्कोसलवंशं वारिधिवशी श्रीवैदूटक्षमाभूतः

तन्मनेन कृतिं प्राविदधे श्रीश्रीनिवासः सुधाः ॥

MD. 12182

We have already noted that in the Mysore Catalogue, against the entry *Rasodārabhāṇa*, this Anṇaya II is described as *Surapuram Anṇayācārya*. It is at this place called Surapuram that these writers were staying, through they originally belonged to Bukkapattanam, a village in Jammalamadugu Tq. in Cudappa Dt.

The second son of Anṇaya II, namely Venkaṭācārya III, gives us important information in his *Alamkāra kaustubha* and *Śrīṅgāra tarāṅgiṇī*. In the first verse of *Alamkāra kaustubha*, he salutes God Kṛṣṇa at Surapura ; and at a further stage, he tells us that he was the preceptor of the chief *Venkaṭa* the son of *Pāmi* who had the title '*Baharī*'.

श्रीमाननाय बहिरौ विरुदाङ्ग पामि-भूपालपुत्र वर वैकटनायकस्य ।

रत्नविप्रदासि भवतो गुरुरेव तुल्येऽलङ्कारगौरवस्य मनस्य कृतौक्तिलक्ष्यम् ॥

M.T. 369.

He repeats this information in the prologue to his *Śrīṅgāra tarāṅgiṇī* M.T. 5439b and 5501.

“—बहिरौ पाम नायक कुमार वैदूट्यापतिनायक महारत्नात्- पाण्डित्य गुरुत्वभूषणेन विरचितम्, etc.

From the above references I got the data of a Kōsala line of chiefs at a place called Surapuram, a chief Venkaṭa son of Rāghava and a Venkaṭa again mentioned as son of Pāmināyaka who had the title '*Baharī*'. Of these chiefs, our authors were *gurus*.

At this stage, I happened to find a Telugu Ms. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, which from its title *Surapura Rājula Vamsāvali*, promised much useful information. My friend, Mr. M. Venkataramayya, was kind enough to read out and explain to me the contents of this Telugu Ms, which gave the history of exactly the same

family of Chiefs, I was after. I have given below a summary of the contents of this interesting document, with notes from other sources. The principality of Surapura figured much in the later history of Aurangazeb and as such, has been dealt with by Sir Jadunath Sircar in his History of Aurangazeb (Vol. V pp. 214 et seq.). The last phase of the history of this state can be read in the account of Col. Meadows Taylor given in his book 'Story of My Life'. The Telugu Ms which contains the Kaifiyat Surapura Rājula Vamsāvali gives an account of the state from its origin; and is especially useful to us to identify and locate the Sanskrit writers and their patrons already noticed and to find out their dates.

Surapura (called Shorapur) is between the rivers Kṛṣṇā and Bhīma, at a short distance in the north from Kṛṣṇā and in a south westerly direction from Bijāpūr; at present it is in the Gulbarga Dt. of the Nizam dominions. The Telugu Kaifiyat tells us that the family of the Chiefs of Surapuram came to be called Kosalavamsa after their ancestor Kosalanātha. One of their old head-quarters in Mudugalsimā was named Kosalapeta. This explains the name 'Kosala vamsa' mentioned by poets Appaya II and Śrīnivāsa II. We found that poet Veṅkaṭa III qualifies the chief Pāmināyaka by the title 'Bahirī'. With reference to this title 'Bahirī', we find in the Telugu Ms. that one of the Kosala chiefs, Cinna Hanmi Nāyaka, attacked and conquered one Bahirī Vasatna Rao who was Desai at Mudugal and was minister under the Bijāpūr Pādushah and from that victory got for himself and his successors the title 'Bahirī'.

The Kōsala chiefs were not, from their early days, having their headquarters at Surāpura. From the summary of the Rāja-vamsāvali given below, it can be seen that it was a Pāmi Nāyaka, son of a Peda Nāyaka who founded Surapuram in A. D. 1713. This Pāmi died in 1740 and his son Peda Nāyaka succeeded him. Peda Nāyaka ruled for five years and died issueless in A. D. 1745. Peda Nāyaka's younger brother Muṇḍigai Veṅkaṭappa succeeded and ruled till A. D. 1751 when he died issueless. Muṇḍigai Veṅkaṭappa's grandfather was Pitāmbara Bahirī Peda Nāyaka, some other grandsons of this Pitāmbara were alive at the time of Muṇḍigai Veṅkaṭappa's death. One of them, Ramaṇappa had a son called Pāmi; another agnate of Muṇḍigai Veṅkaṭappa available at that time was Madana gopala, son of a Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka. While on his deathbed, Muṇḍigai Veṅkaṭappa called both Pāmi and Madanagopāla to his bedside. Madanagopāla had run away somewhere with his mother and so Pāmi, who turned up, succeeded to the Surapuram estate. Subsequently Madanagopāla attacked Pāmi but Pāmi succeeded to retain Surapuram.

The Telugu Kaifiyat describes the chiefs as born in the family of Guha, the hunter-devotee of Rāma. The Kaifiyat records that the chief named Pāmi Nāyaka, who stayed at Sahapuram and ruled for

ten years from A. D. 1678 to 1688, desired to have consecration into Vaiṣṇava faith and for this purpose sought Śaṅkhavaram Śrīnivasācārya, an Ācārya of Anegondi to give him *Mudrā*.

Pāmi who succeeded to the state in 1752 A. D. after Muṇḍigai Veṅkaṭappa desired to have a similar *Dikṣā* into Vaiṣṇavism. The descendent of Śaṅkhavaram Śrīnivasācārya alive at that time was only a boy named Śrīnivāsa. This hereditary *guru* being not even an 'Upanīta', Pāmi sought a substitute Ācārya from *Bukkapaṭṭanam* in Auku sīmā (Avuku) near Gutti, south of the Tuṅgabhadra. This substitute Ācārya was *Aṇṇaya* and he had a brother named *Cinnaya*. These two were brought to Surapuram. This event was between the years A. D. 1760-66, for the Kaifiyat says that just at that time, between Fasli 1170 and 1176, the Maharattas over ran this part of the country and collected tribute from Surapuram.

Therefore the *Bukkapaṭṭanam Aṇṇayācārya* and *Śrīnivasācārya* whose works we have noted and who describe themselves as court-poets and *gurus* of the Kosala chief Veṅkaṭa are identical with the *Aṇṇaya* and *Cinnaya* brought by Pāmi from *Bukkapaṭṭana*. *Aṇṇaya*'s son *Veṅkaṭācārya III* describes himself as the *guru* of *Veṅkaṭa Nāyaka* son of *Bahirī Pāmi Nāyaka*. Pāmi who brought *Aṇṇaya* and *Cinnaya* ruled for twenty two years and died in A. D. 1773. He was succeeded by *Veṅkaṭa* born to him by his wife *Timmammā*. This *Veṅkaṭa*, son of Pāmi, was the twenty second chief of the line; he died in A. D. 1802, after ruling twenty eight years. Now, it is this twenty second chief *Veṅkaṭa*, son of Pāmi, who is mentioned by *Aṇṇaya II*, *Śrīnivāsa II* and *Veṅkaṭācārya III*. *Aṇṇaya*, we have seen, mentions in his *Tattvagunādarsa* that *Veṅkaṭa* was the son of 'Rāghava'. 'Rāghava' then must have been the 'Samskāranamam' of Pāmi, *Veṅkaṭa*'s father, given by *Aṇṇaya* when he administered the Vaiṣṇava *dikṣā* to him.

All this would place our authors *Veṅkaṭācārya II*, *Aṇṇayācārya II*, *Śrīnivasācārya II*, and *Veṅkaṭācārya III* (*Kirīti Veṅkaṭācārya*) and *Veṅkaṭācārya IV* (*Bucci Veṅkaṭācārya*) in the period between 1725 and 1825 with in which fall also the times of Pāmi (*Rāghava*) and *Veṅkaṭa*.¹

1. Mr. M. Venkaṭarāmaya draws my attention to 3 Sanads in Mack. Ms. 16-3-44 in which there is the interesting information that Viranarasimha (A.D. 1504-9 originally granted *Bukkapaṭṭanam* to Śrīśaile Peddayārya, making that *Agrahāra* the seat of the donee's religious headship; and that this *Sarvamānya* of *Bukkapaṭṭanam* and other villages were lost to the donees twice owing to Muhammedan occupation and that two chiefs renewed the *Sarvamānyas* of the family in 1641 A.D. and 1674 A. D.

We have seen from the *Surapura Rājula Vamsāvali* how about 1760, when Pāmi of Surapuram requisitioned the services *Aṇṇaya*, the Ācārya was in the family seat *Bukkapaṭṭanam*.

SUMMARY OF THE SURAPURA RĀJULA VAMŚĀVALI.

[Mackenzil Ms. No. 38. Madras Govt. Oriental

Mss. Library No. D. 2656 (Shelf No. 12—2—58)]

(With notes from other Sources)

This account is mentioned as forming part of the larger work called the Sampatkumariya, also called Veṅkaṭa vilasa being dedicated as it is to Veṅkaṭa Vīra Raghava Kavi.

In the family of the hunter-devotee of Rama, Guha, was born king Parakala and in Parakala's line appeared king *Kōsalanātha*. It is after this Kōsalanātha that this line of chiefs come to be known as *Kōsalanūṣa*.

Vīra Bonmi Nāyaka was the 'mūlapuruṣa' of the Surapura saṁthana; he was holding the office of Sarades in the country south of Kriṣṇa and Tuṅgabhadra, lower Timpoti, Kañci, Kalasapaka and Tiruvannamalai.

His son *Śiṅgappa* alias *Narasimhanāyaka* inherited chiefship over Kañci, Kalasapakka and Tiruvannamali.

His son *Vadiyara Nāyaka* alias *Vadiyarasu* enjoyed the same nivasasthalam as his father.

Kallappa the fourth Nāyaka left Kañci territory and migrated to Maralla town in Cudappa Dt. and become Saradesmukhi there.

Kallappa had seven sons, (1) Peda Hanminayaka, (2) Cina Hanmi n, (3) Immadi Hanmi n, (4) Mummadi Hanmi n, (5) Sarijang H.n, (6) Kari H.n, and (7) Billār Hanmi nayaka. This family renounced life becoming Jains and Desayars, and migrated to Tumbalam in Adoni Tq., Bellary Dt. They become local revenue officers of the Sirkar there.

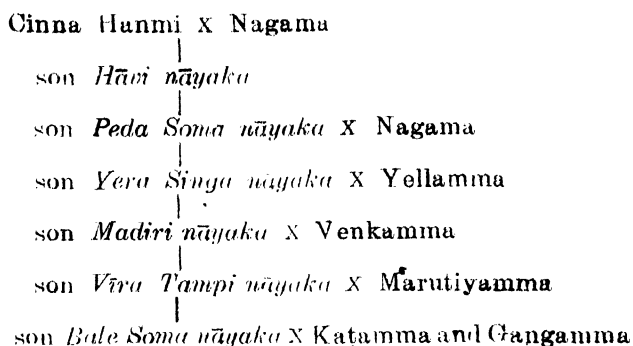
Of these seven brothers, Nos. 6 and 7, *Kari Hanmi* and *Billu Hanmi* went to Tirupati.

Kallappa with his five other sons then went to Mudugal in Hyderabad where he came out successful in a fight with a fort-commander called Mustaph Khan. The latter sued for peace and granted Kallappa and his first five sons Mirasi and Saradesi rights in Mudugal sima. Kallappa and his sons formed a village in Mudugal sima as their headquarters and called it *Kōsalapeta*.

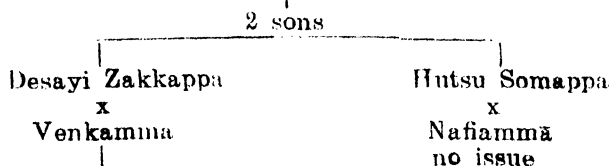
After Kallappa's time, his five sons fell out. Peda Hanmi went away to the Koddekallu Palayagar in Hyderabad and got Mirasi under him; the third son went to Sondur and thence to Kosigi as Mirasi; Mummadi to Kolakūri on the banks of the Bhīma and from these to Bidar fort, getting Mirasi from the Nawab; and Sanjang to Kaligi.

Cinna Hanmi nāyaka, the second son went to Kakkeri on the Kṛṣṇa with 60 horses and 300 men. From there he attacked the Bijāpūr Sultan successfully. At that time one *Bahiri* Vasanta Rao was Desai at Mudugal, with his station at Devapuram. Cinna Hanmi conquered him and from that victory got the title '*Bahiri*' for himself and his successors. This Vasanta Rao was Chief Minister under the Bijapur Padushah.

Cinna Hanmi married Nagama and the following is a list of his successors.



Kaṭamma gave birth to Gaddada Pami n, also called Peda Pami n, who married Kanakamma



Gadde Lingi nāyaka Gadde Pididi nāyaka

The Ms. says that the dates of the chief upto this are not known.

Gadde Lingi x 3 wives, Kōṇḍā Nāgati, Bhogamma, and Timmamavva = 7 sons, Somappa, Zakkappa, Jedi Somappa, Pāmi, Guluca Somappa, Cina Somappa and Guddi Somappa.

Of these sons, the third, Jedi Somappa went away to Guḍi-guṇṭa (on the Kṛṣṇa) and the rest stayed with their father.

Gadde Pididi n, the second son of Zakkappa married twice but had no issue, and as a result of a quarrel with his brother Gadde Lingi, he migrated to Viragotta (on the Kṛṣṇa), turned an adventurer and finally settled at Karakihalli in the Baicabala summut. This Karakihalli was also known as Vaginagiri.* Gadde Pididi still continued to quarrel with his brother, but their two

* Mentioned as Wagingera and Wakinkera in Muslim chronicles.

sisters settled the brothers' dispute, divided the Kakkeri mirasi between the two and made the issueless younger brother, Gadde Pididi, adopt one of his elder brother's seven sons, viz., Pāmi, the fourth.

Pāmi n. when he grew up, settled at Vāginagiri and married five wives. The two families became united and attacked together Sahapuram and defeated the khilledar of that place. The Bijāpur Padushah, *Ādil Shah*, sent his Sirdars to fight Gadde Lingi, his brother and sons. The fight between the Padushah and these brothers went on for twelve years. *A peace treaty was then signed in Hijra 1075 = A. D. 1664-5* giving some territories to the brothers.

The account then gives a panegyric of Gadde Pididi n. The title 'Bahiri' is mentioned. After ruling 12 years at Sahapuram and 3 at Vāginagiri, *Gadde Pididi died in Śaka 1600, Kālayukti, A. D. 1678.*

Gadde Pididi was succeeded by his adopted son Pāmi n. who, himself having no issue for some time, adopted Peda Pididi n, son of his third elder brother, Gudiguṇṭa Jedi Somappa. This chief discovered a Gopālakṣṇa idol and consecrated it; himself desiring to become a Śrivaishnava, he sought *Saṅkharānam Śrīnivāsācārya*, an Ācārya of Ānegondi, who gave him Mudrā. This chief stayed at Sahapuram.

Aurangzeb sent a general against Pāmi n. and though Pāmi was almost defeated, he made a miraculous relay of his forces and won finally. At this time, a son named Cokkappa n. was born to Pāmi who had already adopted his brother's son, Peda Pididi, Aurangzeb² sent again three generals to take Pāmi n. to Delhi. Pāmi decided to go to Delhi, established Cokkappa at Vāginagiri and went to Delhi accompanied by his adopted son and other followers. Aurangzeb greatly honoured Pāmi and granted him Sardesgati mirasi on a kist of Rs. 50,000.

The Ms. says that the date of this event is not known.

As he was returning from Delhi' he became the victim of the foulplay of the wife of an old muhammadan foe of his. *Pāmi ru'ed on the whole for 10 years and died in Śaka 1610 Vibhava, A. D. 1688.*

His adopted son Peda Pididi was a hostage at Delhi for the kist of Rs. 50,000; and so Cokkappa succeeded Pāmi. There was none to free Peda Pididi, but Aurangzeb himself released him after a time and sent him to South India with all honours. Pedda Pididi camped at a place called Bennihāla and sent word to his brother Cokkappa and his mother asking for a share of the Mirasi. Cokkappa who had now ruled for 7 years (1695 A. D.) was superseded by Peda Pididi; Cokkappa was imprisoned, but he escaped and became an exile.³

Pedda Pididi n., briefly called Ped Nāyaka, married five wives and had also five companion-wives. He defied Aurangzeb

and refrained from paying kist. Aurangāzeb himself now led an attack on Ped Nāyaka's place, Vāginagiri. Ped Nāyaka employed the services of a Mahratta named Hindu Rao Ghorpade and his huge army. When Aurangāzeb found that he could not capture Vāginagiri even after three months fight, he bribed Hindu Rao Ghorpade with a lakh of rupees to betray Ped Nāyaka. Learning this, Ped Nāyaka, with his family, and a few followers left for Guḍigoṇṭa where his agnate Liṅgi n. was ruling. Ped n. and Liṅgi n. however soon left Guḍigoṇṭa and retired to Gāzulinne where they were opposed by officials of Devadurga, namely Vāsudeva Nāyaka and his son Peda kili...n. who were friends of Aurangāzeb. A battle followed and Ped n. and party fled. Aurangāzeb raged Vāginagiri and the Gopālasvāmi temple and mutilated the idols. With the ruins he built a mosque and slaughtered cows there, as testified by a Persian inscription on the gate of the mosque dated Hijra 1110, A. D. 1699.⁴

After a long time Ped n. and party took refuge at Regani, south of the Tuṅgabhadra. Meantime Aurangāzeb died and his army in Deccan got scattered.⁵ Ped n. and Liṅgi n. thereupon recaptured Vāginagiri, raged the mosque and rebuilt the Gopālasvāmi temple.⁶ Ped n. adopted the name Pitāmbara to show his devotion to Viṣṇu and rose to great fame.⁷

Ped n.'s son was Pāmi n. who married Rukmammā, daughter of the old enemy Vāsudeva n. of Devadurga. *It is this Pāmi n. that settled at Hasanāpuram and in the neighbourhood of the mountains there, he founded the town and fort of SURAPURAM in Saka 1635 Vijaya, A. D. 1713.* The family's capital henceforward became Surapuram, and from there, they ruled their estate called *Sāgaramaṇḍalam*.*

The family had connections with Tirupati from Kallappa's days; the Ms. then gives a list of the temples they had at Tirupati.

A list is then given of the issues of Pitāmbara Bahiri Ped n. by his five wedded wives and five companion-wives. From Fasli 1145, Pitāmbara was paying Rs. 40,000 kist to the Nizam. In all, Ped n. Pitāmbara ruled for 30 years: 7 years in struggle with Aurangāzeb, loss of estate, pilgrimage to Tirupati and Rāmesvaram, and 20 years at Surapuram. He died in Saka 1647 Viśvāvasu, A. D. 1725.

His son Pāmi n. had succeeded even during his father's time. Pāmi was a great warrior. Pāmi n. had two sons, Peddi n. and Mundigai Venkaṭappa n. Pāmi also was paying kist to Nizam and sending presents to Tirupati. He thus ruled for 15 years and died in Saka 1662 Raudri, A. D. 1740.

Peddi n. his son, succeeded, married Satyammā, ruled for 5 years and died in 1667 Krodhana, A. D. 1745 without any issue.

* Given as Sagar in Muslim Chronicles which assign Wāgingera also to Sagar

His younger brother *Mundigai Veṅkaṭappa* succeeded. He served in the army of Nazir Zung at Pondichery* and then returned to Golkonḍa along with Salavat Zung, through Gutti and Adoni. At Golkonḍa, minister Raja Rāmacandra showed him many favours. He then remained at Surapuram till he died in S. 1673 Prajotpatti, A. D. 1751, after a total rule of 6 years.

He had no child and was succeeded by *Pāmi*, son of Ramanappa, a grandson of Pītambara Bahiri Ped n. There was another grandson of Pītambara Ped n. namely Madanagopala, son of Kṛṣṇappa n.; he had run away with his mother, though he was also called to the bedside when Mundigai Veṅkaṭappa was dying. The two grandsons, Pāmi and Madanagopala were always in fight; Pāmi finally succeeded in retaining Surapuram.

Pāmi thought of initiation in Vaiṣṇavism and sought the service of the small boy *Sṛīnivāsācārya*, descendent of the family *guru* Saṅkhavaram Sṛīnivāsācārya. The boy was not even an 'Upanita and hence another Ācārya had to be sought for a preliminary Mudradhāraṇa. *This substitute Ācārya was in BUKKAPAṬṬANAM in Avuku Sīmā, near Gutti, South of Tungabhadra.* His name was *ANṆAYĀCĀRYA* and he had a brother *CINNAYA*. These two were brought to Surapuram and Annaya gave Mudrā to Pāmi.

About this time, the Mahrattas overran this part of this country and collected tribute from Surapuram between Fasli 1170 to 1176. (AD. 1760-6) The Ms. gives the details of the amounts paid to the Mahrattas.

Pāmi had married Timmammā and had a son, Veṅkaṭappa n. Pāmi ruled for 22 years and died in Jaya 1695, A.D. 1773.

The son, *Veṅkaṭappa*, succeeded. He was the 22nd chief of the line. From Nizam Ali Khan, he got the titles Balavant Bahiri, Roh Bazang, Musafar Dowla, Babaram Mulk, Bahadur. In fasli 1189, (A.D 1779) Mahrattas again levied tribute on the Surapuram estate. Veṅkaṭappa had nine wives and five companions.

In Saka 1711 (A. D. 1789), Sādhārana, Sṛāvaṇa, Veṅkaṭappa annexed the fort of Devagiri, which belonged to his maternal uncle, exercising his right as Dauhitra. He was aided in this by Nizam Ali-Khan the King and his Dewan, Mashir-ul-mulk.

Veṅkaṭappa's third wife Narasimhamma gave birth to a son Bāpu Sāhib, who married Kesamma, daughter of Kṛṣṇappa n. of Tadi-marri. The Ms. then gives an eulogy of Bāpu Sāhib. From a description we understand that Bāpu Sāhib was also known as Veṅkaṭa or Cinna Veṅkaṭappa n. His mothers called him Bāpu Sāhib in endearment. A 'Dharmistha' from boyhood, Bāpu died in his 18th year.

* This attack on Pondichery took place in A. D. 1750.

:: As present in Jammalamadugu Tq of Cadappa Dt.

The Ms. then gives an eulogy of Bāpu's father, Pedda Venkaṭappa. Just about this time the Ceded Dts. were ceded by the Nizam to the English and the Polegars of the Ceded Dts, unable to stay under the English, took refuge in Surapuram.* Some of them are Ankappa nāyaka of Tallibollipalli, Buggappa, Kṛṣṇappa of Tāḍimarri and his son Rāmappa. Veṅkaṭappa arranged for the stay of these Polegars.

In Fasli 1206, he annexed the estate of his agnate Guḍiḡuṇṭa but after nine months, Soma linga nāyaka of Gudigunṭa obtained Mahratta help and regained Gudigunṭa. Peda Venkaṭappa then helped the Nizam with forces in the Nizam's campaign against Bādāmi. Till Fasli 1209 he was paying tributes to the Nizam and the Mahrattas. Every year, he made presents to the Tirupati temple. He ruled on the whole for 28 years, 3 months and 15 days and died in S. 1724 Dundubhi, Āṣāḍha suddha 15th, (A.D. 1802.)

The 23rd Surapuram chief was his own wife Kāṭavvā who was helped by the minister Jamadarka Timmappa. After administering for 4 months and 19 days, she bestowed the estate on one of the collaterals of the family, Pidi nāyaka, in Śaka 1724 (A.D. 1802) Dundubhi, Mārgaśīrṣa, suddha 4th.

The 24th chief Pidi n., who assumed charge the next day, was the son of Madana Gopāla n. Through Kāṭavvā's advices Timmappa initially opposed Pidi n., but the two soon became friends.

There were many troubles and intrigues during Pidi n.'s time. The three parties in the intrigues were the Nizam, the British Resident Sydenham with Mr. Palmer* and the Mahrattas, chiefly Mahipati Ram. In Fasli 1214, (A.D. 1804) Pidi n. built for himself a syloom fortress, Vanadurga, 7 miles southwest of Surapuram and stayed there.

His wife was Venkamāmbā, elder sister of Koṇḍalanāyaka of Pyāpali Samsthāna in Kurnool Dt. They had three sons Venkaṭa, Sitarāma and Cina Venkaṭa and three daughters Peda Venkaṭāmbā, Cina Venkaṭāmbā and Mangamāmbā. The three daughters were married respectively to Ratnagiri Nandirājappa, Pyāpalli Raghappa and Tyadageri Rangappa. The first son, Venkaṭa married two wives, Cinnamma from Pyāpalli family and Rangamma, adopted daughter of Bahiri Venkaṭappa. Besides these, a companion of Pidi n. bore him three sons and three daughters and all these got married.

* The Ceded Dts. were ceded to the English in 1800. Major-Gen. Munro was sent as their first Collector. He drove out many Polegars. See Munro, *Memories and Notes*, LXXI.

* Thomas Sydenham, Resident at Hyderabad 1806-10, William Palmer 1780-1807, founded in 1814 Palmer & Co., a great banking house at Hyderabad which finished up in a financial ruin.

In Fasli 1214 (A.D. 1804-5), when Pidi n. had gone to his estates in Bijāpūr to collect revenue, the troops of Baji Rao Peshwa plundered Pidi's territory.

Pidi n. was pious and munificent; he conducted many festivals, read Rāmāyana and Bhārata and gave protection to some refugee-chiefs from the Ceded Dts. He granted Agrahāras to Brāhmaṇas and when he went to Poona, his Śrāvaṇa Dakṣiṇa to Brahmanas there cost him Rs. 10,000. He paid the Nizam a tribute of Rs. 86,666 and the Mahrattas, Rs. 14,000. He ruled for 15 years, 4 months and 5 days and died in S. 1740, Bahudhānya, Caitra suddha 10th (A.D. 1818.)

The 25th chief was Piḍi's eldest son, Venkaṭappa n. Buramba Bahiri who patronised Brāhmaṇas and on the occasion of his coronation paid to Rāja Chandūlal, Dewan of Nizam, seven lakhs of Nazarana (presents.) This 25th chief was the ruler at the time of the compilation of this record. At this time, the chief was 35 years old.

In Fasli 1227 (A.D. 1817-8) Phalguna, Suddha, 15th, Col. Munro occupied the Bijāpūr territory, annexing it from the Mahrattas and appropriated for the English the dues which the Surapuram chief used to collect.

This 25th chief, Venkaṭappa had two wives, Cinnāmba and Rangamāmba and had, by both, seven sons and five daughters, Kṛṣṇaprabhu. Piddinūyaka, Pāma-nṛpala, Madāna Gopāla and Vāsudēva were the five sons of Rangamāmba. Cinnamāmba had two sons, Hanmi-prabhu and another. At the time of the compilation of this record none of these, sons or daughters, had married.⁸

Of these 25 chiefs, 13 were in Kakkeri Mirasi, the 14th chief came to *Sagararājya* or *Sagaramaṇḍala* i.e., *Surapuram*. The 15th served under Sikhandar Khader Adil Adi Shah of Bijāpūr and obtained extensive jagirs in Hijra 1075, (A.D. 1664 July.)

The compiler of the record says that the difference between Fasli and Hijra seems to be nine years but that he is not quite sure of it.

From that date (1664 A.D. July), the estate is called *Sagaramaṇḍala*; it is situate in the present Sirtābad Sarkar between the Kṛṣṇa and Bhīmarathi rivers the author then gives the boundaries or extent of this estate: the region east and south of the Kṛṣṇa and then to the south east of the same river inclusive of Arekere, another name not clear in the Ms, Kyadagere, Devadurga and Janihalli. The Ms. then gives a list of the Taluqs and villages of the whole estate. The total number of villages is 700 of which Surapuram division alone consists of 540 villages; of these 540, 115 were granted as Agraharas, Jagirs etc. Of these 115, Sarvāgrahāras were given to Ahobalasvāmi, Parakāla Brahmatantrasvāmi of Mysore, Raghavēndra.....svāmi, Satyadharma Svāmi Vidyādhiśa tirthasvāmi, Yatiparāṅkusa svāmi, Rājaguru Venkaṭacārya of Bukkapattanam (the Sarvāgrahāra given

to him is *cikka Hayāl Agraḥāra* in Hommanūr Sammut), Pommāla-svāmi, Nandela Rāghavācāri, Maratāda Rāghavāchāvi, Gorderāl Anantācāri, Pyāpalli Śeṣacāri *Rājaguru* Sankhavaram Kṛṣṇamācāri Buccayācāri, Venkaṭaramaṇācāri, *Rājavidyaguru* Trivedi Varadācāri, Trivedi Rāghavācāri, *Rājapurohita* Bagatikōṭa Rāghappa, Pujāri Gopālayya, Payacari and Motigiri Gosāyi.

Other village grants were to Chettis, Muhammadans and Jangams; to representatives of Viṭṭhalācārya and Śrīnivāsācārya; to Subrahmaṇyācārya, Kamasamudram Appalācāri, Pallipāda Keṣavayya-teacher of the princes, Kanthaviṇai Śrīnivāsācāri, Bhāṣyam Venkatācāri, Virupākṣa Śankara Bhārati, Amalāpuram Hammantadeva, Sātāni Lokayya and a musician named Venkatacari.

A series of Jagirs given to the chief relatives is then given.

The chiefs of Surapura patronised both Hindu and Muhammadan festivals, and examined and honoured poets, musicians and dancers.

The Ms. then gives an account of the soil produce of the estate, of the highway robbery prevailing there and the facilities for travel.

There are a number of Brāhmaṇas of the Prathama Sākhā (Sukla-Yājus) in the Surapuram estate employed as revenue collectors.

In the time of the 22nd chief, Venkaṭappa, a Brāhmaṇa of the Prathama-sākhā went to Udipi, received Mudrā and took the name Mādhava-tīrtha. This Mādhavat-īrtha was succeeded by Viṣṇutīrtha, he by Akṣobhyatīrtha, and the last by Vidyādhīsatīrtha, the contemporary of the chronicler. These tīrthas had their Maṭha at Viraghoṭṭa on the Kṛṣṇa and called themselves the *gurus* of the Prathama-sākhā Brāhmaṇas and got a village from the Surapuram chiefs. During the time of Col. Munro, Mādhava tīrtha travelled the Bellary Dt. and was obstructed by Jaya Venkaṭācāryasvāmi of Rāghavendrasvāmi Maṭha; Vidyādhīsa last his insignia to Jaya Venkaṭācāryasvāmi; as a result, there was a litigation between these two Svāmis which was referred to Col. Munro (Dt. Collector of Bellary). The case came to Madras where one Jivan Rao secured success for Mādhava tīrtha's Mutt and got back the insignia.

Thus finishes the kaifiyat of the Surapuram Samsthāna.

NOTES.

1. Sarkar, Aurangazeb, Vol. V. p. 214. These people are a race of Kanarese aboriginals called Berads; their name Berad means 'hunter'.

2. Sarkar, Aurangazeb, Vol. V. pp. 216-7. Pām (i. e. our Pāmi) Nayak was attacked by an imperial army in November 1687 and, defeated, was made to visit Aurangazeb's court where he died in a few days. Sarkar mentions Bijāpūr as the place where Pāmi waited on Aurangazeb whereas our Kaifiyat mentions Delhi as the place.

Elliot Dowson: History of India as told by its own Historians; Muhammadan Period, Vol. VII, p. 377: Pem Naik (our Pami n), at the time of the war with Hyderabad, sent his forces to the aid of Abu-l Hasan. Padshāh Khānzyāda Khān, son of Rūhu-llah khān was sent to subdue Pami at Sagar and occupy his fortresses. Pami submitted and came to wait on the emperor, but soon hastened back to his home. (Muntakhabu-l Lubab of Muhammad Hashim, Khafi Khan).

3. This Chōkkappa is the Jagna, Jagia and Jikiya of the Muslim historians. Elliot Dowson: Vol. VII. p. 378 and Jagna, son of Pem, also heir to the property, came to the court, was given mansab and a Zamindari, went with an army to Wakinkera (Vāgin-giri of our kaifiyat), but could not get in; he fought, but was defeated. According to Ma-asir-i' Alamgiri, Vol. II. p. 492, Parya (Peda Pididi, of our kaifiyat) expelled Jikiya, son of Pem from his inherited lands.

4. Elliot Dowson, Vol. VII. pp. 377-9: In the 32nd year of the reign of Aurangazeb (1688), when Rūhu-llah Khan senior was sent to reduce Raichur, and when the royal court was at Ahmedabad before the Bijāpur affair, Parya or Pidiya (our Peda Pididi) nephew (and adopted son also) of Pami nāyaka, seeing the great power of Aurangazeb, came to his court and received a mansab. Pididi accompanied Rūhu llah to Raichur and was of help to him. After the campaign, Pididi was sent back to Wakinkera (Vāginagiri) on the understanding that he would be ready to come along with a force whenever called up. This Wakinkera is in Sagar. The native soldiers are famed for skill in archery and missiles. Pididi strengthened himself well and externally showing himself very subordinate to the emperor, began to defy the latter and ally himself with the Maharattas. Prince Muhammad Azam was then sent to punish Pididi and the Moghul forces ravaged Pididi's territory. Pididi again offered tribute of 7 lakhs and made peace but as soon as the Moghul army departed, began defying the emperor. Therefore, to put him down finally. Aurangazeb himself went against Wakinkera in A. D. 1704-5, in the 49th year of his reign. Pididi was about to be defeated when the Maharatta forces of 8 to 9 thousands under Jadu and Hindu Rao came. Pididi employed a trick by sending out his younger brother on a peace proposal as the future Zamindar, and spreading a false report that he himself had turned delirious and fled; Aurangazeb was thoroughly cheated by this, but Wakinkera soon fell and was burnt.

See also Sirkar, Aurangazeb, Vol. pp. 219-234, for a detailed description of this siege of Wagingera. "Wagingera was captured, but its chieftain had escaped and lived to give trouble to the victors". Ibid p. 233.

5. Aurangazeb died in 1707 A. D. in 51st year of his reign.

6. Elliot Dowson, Vol. VII. p. 390. On Aurangzeb's death, Piddi nāyak recaptured Wakinkera; thereupon prince Kām Baksh waged a 15 days' war against Piddi; in the end, through Ahsan Khan, Piddi was made to come to terms.

7. For the further doings of Piddi, see Sarkar, Aurangzeb, V, pp. 233-4, f. n: 1706 - Piddi and Hindu Rao capture Penukonda and make its Mughal qiladar a prisoner. In the same year, Sarafrāz Khan, helped by Jagia or Chokkappa whom Piddi had ousted, chased Piddi. July, 1706 - Mahrattas threaten Wagingera. Jan. 1707, Civil war between Dhana and Hindu Rao, and Piddi deserts the latter, his ally, and joins the former.

8. Meadows Taylor, 'Story of My Life', chapters VII ff., give an account of the Shorapur estate from 1841 A.D.

According to the Treaty of 1800 between the Nizam and the English, the latter had to mediate whenever the Shorapur chief withheld payment of his tribute to the Nizam. The Nizam was unjustifiably increasing these tributes and the state was too poor to fear these fantastic tributes.

Rāja Kṛṣṇappa nāyaka of Surapuram died suddenly. He had three queens; the eldest Īśvaramma became regent to her son who was about 7 years old. Rāja Kṛṣṇappa had a brother Piḍi Nāyaka whom the English desired to be the regent, against the will of the queen. And the queen had a great following.

Gen. Fraser was then Resident at Hyderabad. It was at this juncture that M. Taylor was sent to Shorapur to bring things to order. Taylor succeeded in wresting power from the queen, but to the end she continued to defy English power. Piḍi nāyaka whom the English selected and whose son was intended to be adopted by the late Kṛṣṇappa before the latter got a son through his first queen, turned a drunkard. (ch. VII). 1841-2.

The young prince Enkaṭappa (Venkaṭappa ?) for whom Piḍi nāyaka was regent was educated and brought up by Taylor. Taylor speaks of infructuous conspiracies to murder himself and the young prince. Taylor improved the revenues of the state. (ch. VIII. 1843-4).

Piḍi Nāyaka died on August 8th 1845. Taylor acted more or less like regent. (ch. IX. 1845)

The prince's sister was married to the Rāja of Soondee near Madras in March 1847. In January 1848, Lord Dalhousie became Governor-General. Early in 1848, Taylor had got the queen-mother out of the estate, but on the 20th May 1850, she came back. (ch. XI. 1847-50).

In October 1852, being 18 years, Venkaṭappa was to be made king. The general desire was that Taylor should be the English agent at Shorapur at the cost of Shorapur but the state could not bear such

a big appointment. In the latter part of 1852, Gen. Fraser resigned and left Hyderabad. Col. Low, who succeeded him, reached Hyderabad only in March 1853. (ch. XI.)

The queen-mother, Isvaramma, died on May 27th 1853, in her 40th year.

On June 30th 1858, Prince Venkātappa was proclaimed king. He is said to have grown erratic and uncontrollable after that. Soon after coronation, Taylor went away elsewhere on other duty.

In 1858 there was a general rising against the English in which the young Raja joined. He attacked an English force, was defeated and as he was running in the direction of Hyderabad, was captured and imprisoned at Secunderabad. Taylor was now asked to go to Shorapur to set matters aright. Owing to his intervention the capital sentence on the Raja was reduced considerably, *i.e.* to four years imprisonment. But as the prince was being led to the place of imprisonment, he shot himself dead.

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NORTHERN CIRCARS.

DR. LANKA SUNDARAM, M. A., Ph. D.

CHAPTER IV.

DIRECT MANAGEMENT AND THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF CIRCUIT (1769—1779).

“In 1769...the management of the Circars was placed in the hands of the Company's Servants, of certain provincial chiefs and councils who had no administrative knowledge of experience or any kind and could not talk the...languages with more fluency or correctness than a cadet in the first year of his inexperience or a Chief Justice at the end of his career. But the condition of affairs before their interference had been so irredeemably bad that they could not introduce greater disorder into the administration or greater misery among the people”.

Kaye : *The Administration of the East India Company. (1853).*

In June 1769 a remarkable change was introduced into the administration of the Northern Sarkars. Apart from the appointment of provincial chiefs and councils, the revenue business of the government was no longer transacted in the already overworked military department, but transferred to the more leisurely civil department.¹ As a result of this departmentalisation of revenue business, the Madras Government undertook the direct management of the revenue affairs in the Sarkars.²

The primary object of the Madras government in undertaking the direct management of the Sarkars was to place the revenue affairs on a profitable basis. They had realised that the country had passed through a decade of anarchy, misrule and oppression. They had also realised that the financial commitments of the Company had become heavier and that it was high time to find out the means of making the possession of the Sarkars a profitable commercial proposition. Thus, they tabulated the revenue resources of the Sarkars in juxtaposition with the Military charges entailed in their realisation.³

1, *Pub. Cons.* 9 June, 1769. Vol. 28. pp. 367-70.

2. For the sake of convenience the revenue affairs of the Chicacole Sarkar during the period 1769-1774 have been reviewed in the previous chapter, on account of the fact that direct management had been attempted in that Sarkar, earlier than in the three middle Sarkars, and that special military measures had to be taken to reduce it to subjection.

3, *Milit. Cons.* 25 April 1769. Vol. 64. pp. 284-87.

Revenue and Expenditure of the four Northern Sarkars. (1769—1770)
(In Madras Pagodas).

Sources.	Revenue.	Civil and military charges.
Masulipatam Farms	1,09,785	41,223
Rajahmundry, Ellore and Mustafanagar Sarkars.	3,00,000	65,000
Military charges paid by Hussain Ali and Jogi Pantulu for the above Sarkars.	72,000	
Chicacole and Kasimkota	1,80,000	3,11,243
Military charges paid by Akkaji for the above	75,000	
Bendamurlanka farm	3,630	3,500
Vizagapatam farm.	4,273	10,400
Total Madras Pagodas.	7,44,688	4,31,866

This statement shows that the civil and military charges alone consumed half of the revenue of the Sarkars. But the visible surplus of three lakhs of Pagodas was turned into an annual deficit of two lakhs of Pagodas since the Company had to pay to the Nizam a *peshkush* of five lakhs of Pagodas a year which was "chargeable to the revenues of the Circars".¹

The Court of Directors took a very strong view of the revenue position of the Sarkars. In a lengthy dispatch dated 23rd March 1770 they wrote: "It is with concern we find that the revenues of the Northern Circars are by no means answerable to the expectations we had formed from the statement of them We must indeed acknowledge that the possession of the Northern Circars and the troubles that have since ensued in the Deccan, while they augmented your charges, may also have prevented your revenues from operating to their full extent. Yet in every light it is indispensably requisite for you to reduce your expenses as far as is consistent with the safety of our possessions".²

With the receipt of this despatch a new orientation was given to the revenue policy of the Madras government, particularly with reference to the Northern Sarkars. Henceforward, they ceased to

1. *Madras Dispatches*. 23 March 1770 (further letter) para. 77. Vol. IV. p. 1,062

2. *Idem*, paras. 46 and 73. *idem* pp. 955 and 989-90 respectively.

Earlier, the Court of Directors wrote: "The Northern Circars have been attended with an expense nearly equal to the amount of one year's revenue. *Idem* 17 March 1769. *Idem*, pp. 536-57.

attempt a regime of military prowess and punitive expeditions, even though an occasional demonstration of the Company's authority was called for and justified. On the contrary, they embarked upon a period of peaceful administration, when an earnest effort was made to get into touch with the zamindars and renters, contact with cultivators being reserved for a later date; when the principle of investigation was substituted for that of prompt and drastic chastisement; when attempts at political predominance were subordinated to considerations of material prosperity.

The determination of the Madras government directly to administer the Northern Sarkars resulted in the leasing, as a temporary measure, of the three middle Sarkars for one year.¹ As a consequence, the *haveli* lands of Ellore and Mustafanagar were leased to Apparao raja of Nuzividu and his brother Narayya at *M. Ps.*

15,500. Those of the Rajahmundry Sarkar were leased to Timmaji for *M. Ps.* 7,000. Three more villages in the Mustafanagar were rented by Jafar Beg at *M. Ps.* 2,150. All these rents were clear of all charges.²

After the lease of the *haveli* lands, Alexander Wynch, Chief of Masulipatam, toured the three Sarkars with a view to acquire a competent knowledge of their revenue position. For the first time in the history of the Company's administration of this area, he established personal contacts with the individual zamindars.³ At Rajahmundry he carried through a settlement of the *jamābandi* for the year 1769-1770. The results of the settlement, full details of which are not available, may be summed up as follows:⁴

Revenues of the Middle Sarkars. 1769-70.

<i>Jamabandi</i> of the zamindars clear of all charges.	<i>M. Ps.</i>	5,10,291
Rent of the <i>haveli</i> lands, clear of all charges.		24,650
	Total.	5,34,941
Medium of the previous triennial rent paid by } Hussain Ali and Jogi Pantulu.		3,44,666
Net advantage on account of direct management.	<i>M. Ps.</i>	1,90,275

1. *Pub. Cons.* 23 June 1769. Vol. 28, p. 386.

2. *Masulipatam to Madras.* 1 and 2 July, Nos. 109 and 110. *idem.* 11 July, *idem.* pp. 468-69.

See also *Madras Letters Received*, 16 September 1769 (Bourchier), para. 12. Vol. IV.

3. *Madras Letters Received.* 31 January 1770. (Bourchier), para. 57. Vol. IV.

This is the only source of information in the records. The public and military consultations are silent on Wynch's settlement at Rajahmundry.

4. *Idem.* para. 109.

I had to make one correction in the figures. Jafar Beg's rent was not originally included in the statement.

This statement illustrates the immediate financial benefits which the Company received from the first and, naturally, the most tentative direct settlement of the Middle Sarkars. This increase of nearly two lakhs of Pagodas was the result of economies effected in the internal administration of the country, especially by the elimination of the renters' fees and profits. On the other hand, despite the fact that details of the settlement are wanting to support this contention, there must have been an augmentation of the tribute of the various zamindars who generally were only too willing to acquiesce in a regime that promised peace and prosperity.

Wynch's settlement at Rajahmundry for 1770 was smooth and produced quick results. The zamindars and renters quickly paid their *kists* in approved *sahukar tips*. He was able to induce Tirupati Razu, raja of Mugallaturu to stand security for the revenues of the zamindari of Gutala, Polavaram and Telikancharla whose finances were unstable.¹ During his short stay at Rajahmundry M. Ps. 2,45,698 of the current *jamabandi* were realised and the remaining M. Ps. 2,64,592 were adequately guaranteed.

The zamindari of Pithapuram was the only exception to this settlement. Since Niladri Rao was unable to provide *sahukar* security for the *jamabandi*, Wynch adopted the unprecedented yet salutary measure of obtaining undertakings from the renters of "sub-tenants" of the raja. This is the only instance which I have so far found recorded where the Madras government went beyond the chief-renters and zamindars and got into touch with a larger body of people more closely connected with the actual cultivators.² Also for the first time, Wynch appointed *thanadars*³ to secure the produce of the zamindari of Nandigama, Bezvada, Munagala, Lingagiri and Medur Gattu since the security offered by them was unreliable.⁴

1. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 18 January 1770, No. 27, *Pub. Cons.* 13 February, Vol. 29, pp. 77-80.

2. It is regrettable that details of this arrangement are not available in the records.

3. A *thanadar* was originally a petty military officer taking orders from the *fauzdar* of a district. In the Sarkars, according to the usage of the period, he was an officer in Charge of the headquarters of a small division. He commanded a small force and not only protected the country under his charge but also enforced payment of the revenue. He was the predecessor of the tahsildar of the present day, appointed to each *taluk* in the Sarkars. Even at the present day, the zamindars appoint *thanadar* for the realisation of their revenues notwithstanding the fact that his original, military and police functions dropped away.

4. *Wynch to Madras*, Rajahmundry, 27 February, 1770, No. 41, *Pub. Cons.* 10 March, Vol. 29, p. 216.

After a three months tour through the three middle Sarkars, Wynch returned to Masulipatam. The Madras government entirely approved of his measures with the exception of the special indulgence given to Pithapuram with which a triennial settlement had been concluded. On this concession the views of the Madras government, who were naturally cautious on taking up the direct management of the Sarkars, are very interesting. They suspected that the longer time allowed to Niladri Rao might "give him an opportunity of encroaching on the revenues of the succeeding years and that he will, by that means, continue distressed and never be able to complete his payments".¹ The settlement at Rajahmundry at once raised the question of the balances due from the several zamindars to Hussain Ali and Jogi Pantulu. These balances had been guaranteed to the latter by the government before it entered upon the direct management of the three middle Sarkars. Still, whether they were due to an excessive rental or to the bad management of the countries, they insisted on the realisation of the current *jama* before the renters could be indemnified.²

The Du Pre government inaugurated certain regulations for the better management of the *haveli* lands. While thoroughly discouraging adventurous bidding for the lease of these lands, they deemed it essential that *sahukar* security should be demanded from the renters with a view effectively to secure the government's revenues. The periodical *kists* of the renters were continued as before, but in case of default on the part of a renter and after the expiry of one month's grace, his effects were made answerable for any deficiency in the revenue. The renters were particularly directed to pay attention to the repair of tanks and water-courses in their farms. Special provisions were made in the case of the salt farms. When the rent of a salt farm expired, the old renter was given the option of paying part of the final *kist* in salt with the previous consent of the chief of Masulipatam. The Masulipatam farms were then leased for M. Ps. 1,43, 255.³

The first year of the direct administration of the Sarkars was not totally unruffled by disturbances. Any sudden transition from

1. *Pub. Cons.* 10 March, Vol. 29, p. 217.

See also *Masulipatam to Madras*, 28 March, No. 71, *idem.* 10 April, *idem.* p. 306.

2. *Wynch to Madras, Rajahmundry*, 21 March 1770, No. 90, *idem.* 4 May, *idem.* pp. 368-69.

3. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 17 May, No. 105. *Pub. Cons.* 25 May, Vol. 30, pp. 508-17.

See also *Madras Letters Received*. (Du Pre) 29 September 1770, paras 46-47; 6 February 1771. (Milit) (Du Pre) para 22, and 25 March 1771 (Milit) (Du Pre) para 2, Vol. V.

one mode to another was sure to evoke considerable unrest. The first instance of the complicated nature of the zamindari business, which had not been fully revealed under Disturbances in Totapalli, the rentership of Hussain Ali and Jogi Pantulu, came to light in the case of the Totapalli zamindari, a tributary of the Peddapuram zamindari in the Rajahmundry Sarkar. Rajanna Dora, the zamindar, was refractory and refused payment of his *jamabandi*.¹ At the instigation of Raghava Razu, the *diwan* of Peddapuram, the Chief of Masulipatam marched a detachment into Totapalli which occupied the zamindari, and made an example of him.²

But it was soon found out that there was no truth in the allegations against the Dora, and that the Chief of Masulipatam had been deceived by the intrigues of the raja and *diwan* of Peddapuram. The government "wished [that] the expedition had not been undertaken", but still they could not retrace their steps "without a risque of lessening our authority in the eyes of the Zamindars". At first they tried to mollify Rajanna Dora's feelings,³ but on his refusal to accept any tardy reparation for the injuries inflicted upon him coercion was used and he was hounded from place to place.⁴

When the government realised at last the grave injustice they had done to Rajanna Dora, and offered to restore him to his zamindari,⁵ the aggrieved Rajanna rejected the offer and systematically plundered the country.⁶ In this he was believed to have had the support of Sitarama Razu, whose power in the Chicacole Sarkar had now reached its zenith. Since matters seemed to have reached the culminating point, the Madras government realised that until Raghava Razu had been punished no settlement of the affairs in the Rajahmundry Sarkar would be possible. Hence they ordered his arrest,⁷ while they directed the Vizagapatam Council to caution Sitarama Razu against any further participation in the troubles created by Rajanna Dora.⁸ Capt. Madge's detachment took possession of Samalkota and Raghava Razu was severely

1. *Same to same*, 8 April 1770, No. 77, *Milit Cons*, 10 April, Vol. 67 pp. 91-92.

2. *Same to same*, 14 May, No. 103, *idem*, 16 May, *idem* p. 126

3. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 29 May 1770, No. 113, *Milit, Cons*, 4 June, Vol. 67, pp. 150-53.

4. *Same to same*, 10 June, *idem* pp. 175-76. See also, *Raja of Peddapuram to Madras, Country Correspondences*, No. 138, undated, *ibid*.

5. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 19 July, No. 135, *idem*, 30 July, *idem*, pp. 228-29.

6. *Wynch to Madras, Rajahmundry* 7 February, 1771, *idem* 11 February, Vol. 69 pp. 71-73.

7. *Madras to Masulipatam*, 20 February, *idem*, pp. 83-84.

8. *Madras to Vizagapatam*, *idem*, pp. 84-85.

reprimanded. A settlement was then concluded, by which Rajanna Dora was restored to his zamindari and directed to pay an annual tribute Rs. 6,000 a year to the raja of Peddapuram. Rajanna Dora was further obliged to pay the military charges incurred by the government, as well as Rs. 4,000 to Peddapuram for damages sustained by the latter.¹

Serious misgivings were entertained as regards the right of the Madras government to the Village of Vuppada, situated in the Peddapuram zamindari. A serious disturbance took place in

the zamindari and some of the dependants of Peddapuram took forcible possession of this village.² The Acquisition of Vuppada. Du Pre government directed a minute inquiry into the whole matter. John Andrews, Chief of Vizagapatam, submitted that during his Chiefship of Musulipatam in 1759, when the requests of Colonel Forde were granted by Salabat Jang, Vuppada came into the possession of the Company in accordance with the clause ceding all towns on the sea-coast and the rivers in the Sarkars. It had never belonged to Peddapuram and its seizure could not invalidate the Company's right.³ Exemplary punishment was originally contemplated against the chief perpetrator of this outrage, but the extreme old age of the culprit, Papayya Razu, induced the Madras government to close this incident with the imposition of a fine on him, which was to indemnify the inhabitants.⁴

In 1770, the *haveli* lands of Ellore were again let to Appa Rao and Narayana Rao, the joint rajas of Vuyyur, at M. Ps. 16,250 a year which showed an increase of M. Ps. 750 on the preceding year's rent. The Mustafanagar *haveli* Lease of *haveli* lands, 1770. was let to Jafar Beg Khan at M. Ps. 2,400 a year.

The *haveli* of Rajahmundry was granted to Timmaji for M. Ps. 4,100 out of which the *jagir* of Johrulla and the charity allowances together estimated at M. Ps. 3,100 were to be deducted and disbursed by the Company to the recipients. Jogi Pantulu was granted the Nizampatam farm at an enhanced rent in addition to

1. Wynch to Madras, Rajahmundry, 22 February 1771, *Milit. Cons.* 4 March, Vol. 69, pp. 112-14. See also, *Same to same*, 7 March, *idem*, p. 141. The village of Nagapatnam was granted as *jagir* to Jagannadha Razu who may have been the diwan of Sitarama Razu.

2. *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 21 January *idem*, 11 February; *idem*, pp. 52-61

3. *Same to same*, 6 March, *idem* 18 March, *idem*, pp. 144-45.

4. Wynch to Madras, Rajahmundry, 5 March, *Milit. Cons.* 1 April, Vol. 69, pp. 183-85 and enclosures, pp. 155-90.

The amount of the fine is not stated.

his lease of Divi, Gudivada, Akulamannadu, Inuguduru and Antarvedi. Hussain Ali was continued in the lease of Bendamurlanka and its adjacent villages, Sakhinetipalli and Rameswaram. Sivaji Pantulu got the lease of the six islands of Divi with Hussain Ali as security for his *kists*. Venkatarayulu acquired the lease of Nilapalli while Tadepalli Ramayya leased the Arrak farm.¹ The Masulipatam farms were then let as follows.²

Farm.	Renter.	Rent in M. Ps.
Narsapur town.	Raja of Mugalaturru.	2,200
Land and Hyderabad customs.	Kamaji Pantulu	21,000
Masulipatam and Pandraya salt.	do	41,000
	Madras Pagodas.	64,000

When once these miscellaneous farms had been disposed of, the government took into consideration the results of the direct management of the revenue during the proceeding years. Wynch's triennial They considered direct management to be greatly settlement 1770-71 advantageous to the Company's interest. To increase to 1773-74. the benefits to be derived therefrom and to secure the attachment of the zamindars and "convince them that far from exacting large sums from them by means of the power we are possessed of, we wish only to receive a fair and just proportion of the value of their countries," they resolved to conduct a triennial settlement and ordered Alexander Wynch to proceed to Rajahmundry and settle the *jamabandi* with the individual zamindars.³ On 12 December 1770 Wynch arrived at Rajahmundry and immediately set himself to dispose of the preliminary obstacles in the way of the proposed triennial settlement. The rajas of Kota Ramachandrapuram who owed a balance of M. Ps. 4,367 gave him a considerable amount of trouble and at one time their zamindari stood the risk of being sequestered. But Wynch succeeded in obtaining the balances by lenient treatment.⁴ Again, the zamindar of Pithapuram had already

1. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 2 June, 1770, No. 118, *Pub. Cons.*, 13 June, Vol. 30, p. 50, *Same to same*, 31 May, No. 120. *idem* pp. 570-74. The figures for all the farms are not available.

2. *Same to same*, 25 and 26 October, *idem*. 2 November *idem* pp. 926-28,

See also *Madras Letters Received*, 6 February, 1771, (Du Pre) paras 41-42, Vol. V.

3. *Masulipatam to Madras*, undated No. 171. *Pub. Cons.* 25 September, 1770, Vol. 30, pp. 862-64.

4. *Wynch to Madras*. Rajahmundry, 12 December, No. 230. *Pub. Cons.* 28 December, Vol. 30, pp. 1,012-05.

drifted into a balance of M. Ps. 14,369, and therefore one Timma Razu was accepted as his security and given the management of the zamindari on behalf of the raja, who was to receive a suitable allowance.¹ But for these two incidents, the settlement was easily made on the basis of the previous year's settlement. Nearly M. Ps. 2,77,239 were secured on the spot and the balances covered by adequate *sahukar* security.²

The Madras government recognised the fact that the revenues of the Sarkars were not commensurate with the expectations they had entertained when they first acquired the country and certainly below the expectations of the Court of Directors. But they were equally conscious of the fact that no further increase was possible under the existing conditions of defective information and experimental direct management. With a view to justify their policy of lenient administration and to placate the feelings of the Court of Directors, they entered into a lengthy discussion of the revenue position of the Sarkars in view of Wynch's triennial settlement at Rajahmundry.

Government's
justification of a
lenient *jama*.

In their dispatch of 6 February 1771,³ the government admitted that in 1766 the estimated revenues of the Sarkars at M. Ps. 8,38,733 a year had been grossly exaggerated and had led the Court of Directors into false expectations. This was due to the insufficiency as well as the inaccuracy of the information at the disposal of the Government of the time. They recalled the fact that actually Hussain Ali, and Jogi Pantulu had been granted the rent of the three Middle Sarkars at M. Ps. 3,34,666 which was made up of the medium rent of M. Ps. 2,66,666 and military expenses of M. Ps. 78,000 a year. They contended that Wynch's settlement at M. Ps. 5,34,941 was adequate and just when compared with the triennial settlement with Hussain Ali and Jogi Pantulu and with the estimated present gross produce of M. Ps. 5,59,883 a year.

On the other hand, they admitted that a wide gap still remained between the estimate of 1766 and the settlement of 1771. This contrast of figures was all the more glaring when it was recalled that by direct management the profits of the renters were eliminated and greater justice and uniformity of administration substituted. But, as a set off to this, the government pointed out that during the period of indirect management, the renters were constantly compelled to use "a superior force against the Zemindars" to realise their revenues. When this was not done consistently "the Zemindars

1. *Same to same*. 5 January, 1771, No. 3. *idem* 18 January, Vol. 31. pp. 13-14.

2. *Same to same*, 26 January, 1771, No. 26. *idem* 8 February, *idem*, pp. 60-61.

No detailed figures of this settlement are available.

3. *Madras Letters Received*. 6 February (Du Pro) paras. 43-45. Vol. V.

paid little or nothing". Moderation and lenity were the only safeguards against fluctuating and extorted revenues. The government concluded. "But if Your Honors had rather receive a moderate revenue in peace and tranquility, we are humbly of opinion that the most effectual method (if any can be so) is to attach the Zamindars to your government by ensuring to them a better condition than they could hope for under any other and certainly one lack received in this way will yield more real advantage to the Company than three by compulsion".

But the government submitted that the Chicacole Sarkar was an exception to this line of argument, They recognised that "its produce far exceeds what we receive from it". This was due to its peculiar geographical position and to the turbulence of its numerous zamindars. As such they thought it "more advisable, under our present circumstances to accept almost anything from such Zamindars rather than undertake any hill expedition", even though such a policy "might seem derogatory to the Company's government". This was the principal reason why they had indulged Sitarama Razu. The echoes of the recent rebellion of Narayana Deo were a further warning to the government against weakening the power of Sitarama Razu at least for some time.

In 1771 the haveli of the three Sarkars was let for a period of two years. Even though the Ellore *haveli* had been a loss to the government owing to the bad management of its renters, Appa Rao and Narayana Rao, they were continued in its possession mainly with a view to giving them a chance of improving the administration and to recovering the Company's rent. The effect of this lease may be stated as follows:—¹

Farm	Rent	Yearly rent in M. Ps.
Rajahmundry <i>haveli</i>	Venkata Rayulu	1,025
Ellore "	Appa Rao and } Narayana Rao }	11,000
Mustafanagar "	Malla Pandit	5,500
Total Madras Pagodas.		17,525

Hussain Ali's death in September 1771 removed the last vestige of the dual administration of the Sarkars. The Masulipatam Council

1. *Wynch to Madras, Rajahmundry*, 23 March 1771. No. 72. *Pub. Cons.* 5 April, Vol. 81. pp. 184-86.

See also, *Masulipatam to Madras*, 30 March, No. 90, *idem*, 17 May, *idem*. pp. 300-01.

Death of
Hussain Ali:
Redistribution
of his *jagir*.

immediately brought his personal *jagir* under their direct control.¹ The disposal of the *jagir* was one of the most thorny problems debated upon by the members of the Masulipatam Council and the Madras government. Such was the complicated nature of the issue and the tension of feelings between the members of the Masulipatam Council that Samuel Johnson was severely censured and recalled to the presidency for his ardent advocacy of the cause of Hussain Ali's family.²

The government approved the decision of the majority of the Masulipatam Council to restore such parts of the *jagir* which had originally belonged to the rajas of Peddapuram and Mugalaturru and had been usurped by Hussain Ali during his long term of office either as naib of Nizam Ali or renter of the Company and converted into his *jagir*. A smaller *jagir* consisting of Vallur and Duvva was reserved to his family, leased out to Tirupati Razu, raja of Mugalaturru, and the annual revenues thereof amounting to a lakh of rupees expended by the Chief of Masulipatam on the needs of the family.³

The zamindars of Rajahmundry, Ellore and Mustafanagar repaid to Masulipatam to settle their accounts for 1773, and paid their *kists* into the Company's Treasury. Only Appa Rao of Nuzividu was unable to pay his *jamabandi*. He turned refractory and even though the Company's *thanadars* were engaged in securing the produce of his zamindari, he had the necessary local influence to collect M. Ps. 30,000 as his share of the year's produce. To prevent any such interference to the detriment of the Company's future revenues,

Progress of the
triennial settle-
ment. 1772-1774.

1. *Same to same*, 16 September 1771, No. 175. *idem*, Vol. 32, pp. 644-45.

2. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 15 October, No. 205, *idem*, 25 October. *idem*, pp. 713-15; *same to same*, 30 October, No. 212. *idem*, 8 November, *idem*, p. 722 forwarding consultation of the Masulipatam Council, *Same to same*, 23 November, No. 219 *idem*, pp. 765-68.

The Madras government imputed personal motives to Johnson and characterised his behaviour as a "misdemeanor and infidelity...as merits the severest censure" *ibid.*

See also *Madras Letters Received*, 28 February 1772. (Du Pre) paras. 73-81 Vol. I.

3. *Masulipatam to Madras*. 3 December, 1771, No. 3 for 1772 *Pub. Cons.*, 10 January 1772. Vol. 33, p. 6 *same to same*, 10 March No. 65 *idem*, and 16 March *idem*, pp. 148-49; See also *same to same* 4 May, No. 106, *idem* 11 May, *idem* pp. 290-92.

The chief of Masulipatam treated Hussain Ali's sons as Wards. On 25 December 1797 one of his sons petitioned Willy Pitt, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Member of the Board of Control for the restitution of the original *jagir*.

See his letter in the possession of the Editor of THE INDIAN a Journal published monthly in London. It is printed on pp. 7-8 of the Journal's July 1927 number.

See also, Johnson's letter to government in support of his advocacy of Hussain Ali's family. *Pub Cons.* 13 January, 1773, Vol. 35, pp. 60-61.

the government altogether removed him from the management of the zamindari. The appointment of managers of the revenues seemed the only eligible method and the Masulipatam Council recommended its adoption, for they were unwilling to re-establish a system of renterships from which the country had suffered considerably during the time of Hussain Ali and Jogi Pantulu. They observed that "if the lands in their present distressed situation were let out to rent, and the renter, by the failure of a crop or other accident should be reduced to the necessity of encroaching upon the rights of the inhabitants in order to make good his engagements with the Company, or otherwise harass and impoverish the ground", it would ultimately react upon the prosperity of the district and the revenues therefrom. To obviate this difficulty, they directed the Chief of Masulipatam to manage the country on the Company's account as a temporary measure.¹

But, Appa Rao realised his folly in provoking the government to such a serious step and easily came round. He offered to immediately pay M. Ps. 10,000 by an approved *sahukar* bill in part payment of his balances and current *jama*, assign villages in his zamindari of the annual value of M. Ps. 9,000 as from 1774 and allow them to continue in the possession of the Company until his arrears to the Company as well as to the family of Hussain Ali were cleared off. Further, he agreed to provide approved *sahukar* security for the annual *jama*. This arrangement seemed to the government not to conflict with their recently declared policy of conciliation and lenity. Even though they clearly recognised the advantages of direct administration of the Vuyyur zamindari which would restore its prosperity and increase its revenues within a period of five or six years, they thought it best to revoke their former orders and restore Appa Rao to his hereditary property on his own conditions.²

The Madras government inaugurated their regime of inquiry and reform in the lease of the *haveli* lands for the years 1772-1776.

From the information furnished by the Masulipatam Council they found that notwithstanding the provision in the *kantls* granted to them, the farmers had every opportunity of oppressing the inhabitants without detection and restraint. Since a renter knew that his rights and legitimate proportion of the crops were not definitely ascertained and prescribed by this government, "he may consider himself at liberty to judge of them, and the discouragements which the inhabitants lie under from

Early reforms
(1773)

1. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 12 April, 1773, No. 76, *Pub. Cons.* 23 April, *idem*, pp. 383-86.

2. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 31 May 1773, No. 108, *Pub. Cons.* 7 June, No. 119, Vol. 36, pp. 509-11, *same to same*, 17 June, No. 119, *idem* 25 June, *idem* p. 558,

their ignorance of our language and of our intentions, may induce them rather to submit themselves to a present injury than, under these disadvantages, expose themselves to enraged power".¹ The government realised the danger to current revenues from any inquiry into these thorny problems complicated as they were by the measures followed by the renters over a considerable period of time. But inquiry they must institute and to obviate any diminution of the current *jama* they were willing to extend the term of lease, so as to give a greater opportunity to the renters as well as the cultivators to improve the farms.

As a consequence, they directed Masulipatam to inquire into "the mean produce of the villages or sub-divisions in each country or district", the particular privileges enjoyed by all classes of people in each individual district, and the proportion of produce the government were entitled to, by which means they would be "the better able to do justice both to the renters and to the inhabitants, by enforcing the rights of the first and protecting the latter from oppression".² They also directed that after the cultivator's proportion of the produce had been ascertained, mention should be made of it in the advertisements inviting offers from prospective renters to lease the *haveli* lands, so that the renters and the people in general would clearly know beforehand how they stand in relation to each other as well as to the government.

To further foster the cultivation of the lands, they agreed to issue cash advances (the latter *lacavvi* loans of the government) to the renters for keeping tanks and water courses in repair. The Company were to reimburse themselves at the time of the harvest out of "the amount of the proportion which is always reserved both from the husbandmen and renter's share of the crops as a fund for defraying the expense of such repairs and which, being in most places five per cent per annum will not only be sufficient for this purpose but leave a residue for further improvement". Finally, they ordered "proper surveys to be made of the repairs of improvements intended andexecuted under the direction of skilful persons."³

Henry Brooke and his Council at Masulipatam were entitled to all the credit for these reforms which were wholeheartedly approved and adopted by the Council of Alexander Wynce, who had just succeeded to the government of Madras. Even though there is no direct proof to substantiate the suggestion, these reforms of the

1. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 19 April, 1773, No. 79, *Pub Cons*, 30 April, and resolution of the government thereon, Vol. 35, pp. 403-04.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 19 April, No. 79, *Pub Cons*, 30 April and resolution of the government thereon, Vol. 35, pp. 400-02, and Vol. 36, pp. 403-04.

Madras government greatly influenced and accelerated the decision of the Court of directors to appoint the Committee of Circuit two years later.

In the light of these reforms, the *haveli* lands were leased for a period of two years in the following manner.¹

Farm.	Renter.	Rent in M. Ps. for three years.
Ellore haveli.	Sobram Lolla.	38,250
Mustafanagar.	Timmaji. ²	13,500
Vallur.	Sivaji Pantulu.	18,750
Duvva. ³	Tirupati Razu.	12,375

Tacavvi loans were advanced to the renters of such farms as were very poor. To secure these loans a "bond" from the inhabitants and another "security bond" from the renters were taken by the government. A third of the moneys advanced was to be repaid before the expiry of the first half and the remaining two-thirds before the end of the *fasli* year. On this, the Madras Government recorded with satisfaction that "indulgences of this kind are very useful in promoting industry and serve to impress the people in general with favourable notions of our government and we shall never be backward in granting them".⁴ But, since the advantages from these loans ought to be considerable, they directed that the rents be collected at the rate of half within the first six months of the *fasli* year (February) and the remaining half in April and June in equal instalments, instead of the six bi-monthly *kists* proposals by general custom. As an alternative, they would be willing to receive a third in February and the remaining two-thirds in equal instalments in the April and June following.⁵ Consequently, they advanced M. Ps. 2,000 for the inhabitants of Ellore, M. Ps. 1,200 to those of Vallur and M. Ps. 1,000 to those of Kondapalli.⁶ These are the first recorded instances of *tacavvi* loans granted by the Madras government.

1. *Same to same*, 8 June 1773, No. II3. *idem*, 18 June, *idem*. pp. 532-36. See also *Madras letters Received*, 5 February 1774. (Wynch) paras, 73-75. Vol. VII,

I am unable to obtain figures for all the farms.

2. Timmaji's proposals have been copied out in Appendix "D" No. 4, to this thesis as a specimen of renters's proposals at this period.

3. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 11 July, No. 131 *pub. Cons.* 16 July, Vol. 36. pp. 613-14.

4. Resolution of the Madras government in *idem*, 18 June, 1773, *idem*, pp. 532-36.

5. Resolution of the Madras government in *pub. cons.* 18 June, 1773, Vol. 36 pp. 532-36

6. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 29 June, No. 124, *idem*, 8, July, *idem*, pp. 606-07, and resolution thereon,

A sidelight upon the justice of the revenue policy of the government is supplied by the state of the Vizagapatam farms let for a period of five years (1774-79) at an annual rental of Rs. 15,325. Morgan Williams and Williams Hamilton, two servants of the Company, leased the Alipuram and Wathara farms. When they pressed for remissions on the previous lease of the same, the government refused to "write off any part of their balances", in view of the fact that they had not claimed any remissions at the time when the losses were alleged to have taken place and had waited till the expiry of the lease and the grant of another.¹ The Court of Directors also endorsed the government's decision and insisted on the recovery of the *kists* due from them.² This instance clearly reveals the fact that no difference was made between local renters and the servants of the Company, but that the government always aimed at the efficient discharge of their duties according to the approved principles of the revenue administration at the time.

The appointment of John Whitehill to the Chiefship, of Masulipatam in September 1773, which had been a subject of warm debate by the members of the Madras Council,³ was productive of momentous changes in the revenue administration of the Northern Sarkars.

Even though he was unable completely to carry through his programme of reforms either during the present administration or later, even after he succeeded to the government of Madras, he had raised certain points for investigation and ultimate decision by the government in the light of his suggestions. Hence, it is necessary that a brief discussion of the points should be offered here, even if it is only to indicate the temper of the government of the time which was more in the spirit of patient inquiry than of drastic reform.

Proposed changes
in zamindari
rights:
Whitehill's
recommendations

1 Madras *letters Received*, 5 February 1774, (Wynch) para, 53, Vol. VII,

2 Madras *Despatches*, 12 April 1775, para 14, Vol. VI pp, 251-52,

3 For a discussion of the merits of Whitehill's appointments see *pub. cons.* 10 September 1773, Vol.36 pp,691-92; *idem* 17 September, pp,704-06 and 739-40, respectively

To be continued

SAKTIVARMAN I, VIMALADITYA AND RAJARAJA.

DR. K. R. SUBRAHMANYAM, M. A., Ph. D.

Dānārṇava ruled for barely three years when he was ousted by Bādapa and Tālā who ruled for some years thereafter. Śaktivarman son of Dānārṇava and Āryādēvi (*M.E.R.*, 1918, 132; *E.I.*, IV. 226) is said to have become king at the end of the so called *interregnum* which lasted between 973 and 1000 A.D. During this period, Dānārṇava seems to have lived. It is quite possible that there was disorder after Tālā's death. Taking advantage of this, a Telugu-Chōla King, Jaṭa Chōḍa Bhīmanṛipati of the solar race took hold of a large part of Andhra; and he was dispossessed by Rājārāja, the great Chōla of the south who restored Andhra to its legitimate ruler and thus established order where it was sadly required (*S.I.I.* II, Part V.) Perhaps, the Telugu Chōla and the Tamil chōla championed the two rival dynasties of Andhra at the special request of the parties.

New light has been shed on this complicated and dark chapter of Andhra history by an epigraph at Conjeevaram of this period (*E.I.*, XXI, 29). It is dated Śāka 924 (current). It enumerates the Kings from Vijayāditya III to Dānārṇava, a devotee of Bhīmeśvara. Then it mentions Jaṭa Chōḍa Bhīma with thirty two titles who usurped the Andhra throne and made confusion worse confounded. In all probability, Dānārṇava invited the Chōla power, which was becoming famous under Rājārāja the great, to help him against Jaṭa Chōḍa Bhīma. Or, Rājārāja intent on conquering the northern coastal districts found the usurper, struck a blow on behalf of the aggrieved party and thus conquered Vengainādu before 999 A. D. his fourteenth year. Next year, Rājārāja proceeded against Kalinga and conquered that country also. The Tiruvālangadu Plates say (*S.I.I.* III, 29, 421) that Rājārāja defeated an Andhra King named Bhīma and it was hitherto thought that the Bhīma was Vimalāditya who had the title Mummudi Bhīma. It was a mistake as Vimalāditya ascended the throne in 1011 A.D. and Rājārāja the great conquered Vengainādu in or before his fourteenth year *i.e.* before 999 A.D. From the Conjeevaram inscription referred to above, we are able to identify Rājārāja's foe Bhīma with Jaṭa Chōḍa Bhīmanṛipati, a Telugu Chōḍa King who had revived the dynasty at this time as there was no powerful King in Andhra to hold him in check. "This period," wrote Dr. Fleet, "has been assumed to have been a time of anarchy with the suggestion that the anarchy may be fairly attributed to Chōla invasions. I suspect that the country was in fact conquered and held for a time by the Chōlas" (*I.A.*

XX, 272). But, we have noted above that the anarchy was perhaps caused after Tāḷa's death by the Telugu Chōḷa and the great Chōḷa, restored the old line and began the Chōḷa domination over Andhra by a marriage alliance. It is also possible that Satyāśraya, son of Tailapa added to this disorder and that the dynasty of Kalinga contributed its quota by helping the enemies of Dānārṇava and the legitimate line.

Just about the time of Rajaraja Chola's conquest, Dānārṇava seems to have died and he was succeeded by his son Śaktivarman who is said to have ruled twelve years 999-1011 A.D. according to the Korumelli grant of Rajaraja Narendra. Śaktivarman was succeeded by his younger brother Vimalāditya. According to his Rapastapūṇḍi grant (*E. I.* VI, 347) to his minister Vajjaya or Vajra Peggada, Vimalāditya was crowned on May 10, 1011 A.D. Vimalāditya was in the Chōḷa court between 1011—1015 A.D. (*M. E. R.* 1900, 14) and there is an inscription of his in Tiruvaīyār in Tanjore Dt. (215 of 1891) of the year 1014 A.D. So, he seems to have returned only in 1015 from the capital of his father-in-law, the Chōḷa king. Since he is assigned seven years by all inscriptions, his reign ended in 1018 A.D.

The position of Vimalāditya in Vēṅgi was not secure without Chōḷa support. On his death there seems to have been the usual fratricidal war between his sons Rājārāja and Vijayāditya. Else, there is no reason for the delay in coronation till August 16, 1022 A.D. From the early history of the Eastern Chālukyan brothers and from the later history of Vijayāditya, it is not improbable that he began a civil war with or without the help of the King of Kalyan. In all probability, the Chola had to send his weight to steady Rajaraja also on the throne. Later coronation was not unprecedented as Chālukya Bhima was similarly crowned four years after accession. It is very likely that this strife gave materials to Nannayya for calling his patron a valiant victor in many battles (*JAHRS* Vol. V, p. 205.)

There is no valid reason for assigning 1015-1022 for Vimalāditya with an interregnum between 1012-1015 or with an addition of three years to the period of anarchy 973-1000 A.D. contrary to all statements that it covered only 27 years. Moreover, as we shall see presently, Śaktivarman II son of Vijayāditya was crowned in 1061 A. D. after Vijayāditya became king. So, it is impossible to bring the reign of Rājārāja Narēndra to 1063 A. D. and it is against undoubtedly correct data.

Rājārāja Narēndra is said to have ruled for 40 years and again for one year (*S.I.I.*, I, 54, lines 46-47). Kulōttūṅga II assigns 41 years for the duration of Rajaraja Narēndra's reign. The Pithapuram inscription assigns him only 40 years but it belongs to Saka 1124 (*E.I.* IV, 226). Exactly 41 years after Rājārāja's accession to the Andhra throne, the usurpation of his younger brother, Vijayāditya took place. Vijaya-

ditya's son says that the usurpation took place in Rājārāja Narendra's absence (*JAHR'S* Vol. V, 57, line 44, C. P. of Śaktivarman II), Rājārāja survived a few months after the usurpation. In October 1061 A. D. Vijayāditya thought that, as he was getting old, he should crown his son Śaktivarman. This could not have taken place in Rājārāja Narendra's life-time unless we presume that in the life-time of Rājārāja Narendra, Vijayāditya and his son crowned themselves in one part of his kingdom, say, South Vizagapatam District. So, the date assigned to Rājārāja Narendra till now, 1022-63 has to be changed.

Let us summarise here the relevant facts. The Chellūru grant of Virachōḍa gives 23 July, 1078 A. D. as the date of his coronation. His elder brother Rājārāja ruled Andhra for a year before him according to the same grant. 27th July 1076 A.D. was the date of Rājārāja's coronation. Then, as the Chellūr grant gives 15 years for the rule of Vijayāditya before the viceroy Rājārāja, Rājārāja Narendra must have died in 1061 and his younger brother Vijayāditya must have ascended the throne in the same year.

To support this 1061 datum for Rājārāja's death we have some more arguments. Śaktivarman II son of Vijayāditya was crowned in October 1061 A. D. At least a few months before October 1061, Vijayāditya must have felt secure on the throne to venture on the next step. Secondly, there are two inscriptions of Rājārāja (*M.E.R.* 1920, Nos. 663 and 671) which equate his 37th and 41st years with Saka 980 and Saka 983 (Plava.) If they are correct, his 41st year was 1061 and as Vijayāditya usurped in Rājārāja's absence the usurpation might have taken place a few months before, after which some compromise might have been effected by which Rājārāja Narendra was allowed to rule till his death. Thirdly, the Pāmulavāka grant of Vijayāditya gives us the much needed clue in the whole matter. He usurped in Saka 952, the 12th year of Rājārāja's reign. We have no reason to doubt its authenticity and it is the earliest dated grant of this reign. So, Rājārāja succeeded in 1018 A. D. and had himself crowned in 1022 A.D. Why was the coronation delayed? Was it due to a civil war or any other reason? We cannot say at present.

The legal king of Andhra from 1018 A. D. to 1061 A. D. was Rājārājanarendra. But during this long period of 43 years, Vijayāditya his younger half-brother created great trouble for him at the beginning, in 1030-32 and for a third time in 1061 A. D. when he effected the final coup in Rājārāja's absence from Rajahmundry. In calculating the regnal years, Rājārāja must have omitted two years for Vijayāditya's first usurpation in 1030-32, his second having lasted only a few months. The last year of Rājārāja Narendra, year 41 was 983 Saka (Plava) which must be early 1061 A. D. as Śaktivarman was crowned in 983 Saka (expired) i. e. in October 1061 A. D. Thus

Rājarāja did not rule till 1063 A. D. As regards his first year, if we take it as Śaka 944, then it would be rather impossible to press in 41 years between Śaka 944 and 983.

There was only a short interval between Vijayāditya's usurpation and Rājarāja's death. According to the supposed compromise, or due to any other reason, instead of Rājarāja's son succeeding his father, Vijayāditya succeeded him. Virārājendra in his Kanyākumāri inscription says that his brother Rājādhirāja and Rājendra-dēva neglected Vēṅgi which was under the thumb of the Chōla before them, and so, there was no Chōla interference in Vēṅgi politics when Vijayāditya usurped and succeeded Rājarāja as the Chālukyan menace from Kalyāṇ gave enough work for the Chōla sovereigns. Having secured the throne, Vijayāditya wanted to pass it on to his son. So Śaktivarman was crowned in Śaka 983 (Sun in Tula, Śukla, Thursday, Anurādhā). He died a year later (1062) in some war. For the sake of *dharma*, Vijayāditya *alias* Kaliyudhiṣṭhira resumed rule and till he died he was lord of Vēṅgirāja. The war in which Śaktivarman II died was perhaps a war with Kulottunga, son of Narēndra who disputed his uncle's right to pass the Crown on to his son.

Dr. Fleet shrewdly suspected a break in the succession (*I. A. XX*, 273), and this break was due to Vijayāditya's usurpation which his son says, took place in Rājarāja's absence. Evidently, Rājarāja regained the throne, died a few months later and was succeeded by his brother Vijayāditya. This was the third occasion when Vijayāditya gave trouble to Rājarāja, the second being in 1030 A. D. According to the Pāmulavāka plates (*J A H R S II*, 287, lines 60-65) Vijayāditya crowned himself after usurpation on July 9, 1030 A. D. in Rājarāja's 12th year and he issued the grant in his second year in 1032 A. D. This episode is left out in the later charters of Vijayāditya and Śaktivarman as well as in other records. Similarly, they discreetly omit Vijayāditya's last usurpation and speak of Vijayāditya's accession after Rājarāja's death as if there was no heir to Rājarāja to succeed him.

After having spoken about the chronology of the three reigns we may now consider the chief events. The Numiyavāḍa grant says that Dānārṇava and Amma II fell out at the end and killed each other's sons (*M. E. R.* 1914, 86) But, Dānārṇava left two sons to rule Śaktivarman and Vimalāditya. Dānārṇava lived on till almost the end of the so-called interregnum without regal power on account of Bādapa and Tala first and the Telugu Chōla Bhīma next. But he continued to bring in the southern Chōla who revived the legitimate line. Śaktivarman called himself Chālukya Chandra (*I. A. XIV*, 50) and Chālukya Narāyana and bore high sounding *birudas* and his nephew Rājarāja calls him a just ruler. It is said that Śaktivarman

fought with the Chōḷa while young. He also encountered Badyama Māhārāja and others (*M. E. R.* 1918, 132). The Chōḷa whom he fought with is further called Chōḍa Bhīma who met with his death like Rāvaṇa in the hands of this Chālukya Nārāyaṇa. It is clear from what has been said above with reference to the Conjeevaram inscription that this Chōḍa Bhīma was the very person whom Rājārāja the great defeated. So, Saktivarman took part in the war while his father was still alive, on the side of Rājārāja the great who championed the legitimist party. It is quite possible that Jata Chōḍa, a princeling of the Bādapa Tala line, the Chālukya of Kalyāṇ and the king of Kalinga joined together against the Tamil Chōḷa and his legitimist protege.

As a result of Rājārāja's conquest of Vēṅgi on behalf of Dānārṇava, friendliness was established between Āndhra and Drāviḍa royal families which fructified in the marriage of Rājārāja's daughter and Rājendra's younger sister Kundava to Vimaladitya the younger brother of Saktivarman. Vimaladitya was absent in the Chōḷa kingdom for some years and he returned to Rājahmundry in 1015 A. D.

Vimalāditya must have married Kundava even in his brother's reign when the first contact took place between Chōḷa and Andhra. There is no reason to think that Vimaladitya was married after 1011 A. D. or was prisoner in 1011-15 in Chōḷa as Rājārāja Narēndra would then have been but a child in 1018 when his father died. If Rājārāja Narēndra's younger brother had been born some years later, he would not have passed his teens in 1030 A. D. and would not have grown wearily old, as we are told, in 1061 A. D. So, Vimalāditya was married before 1011 A. D., his sojourn in Chōḷa was in the capacity of a son-in-law who went there perhaps to witness the ceremonies of Rājārāja's retirement and Rājendra's accession. Vimalāditya died in 1018 A. D. after ruling seven years partly by deputy as he was in Tanjore for some years. He had great devotion to the Jain creed as the Kannada Trikalayōgi is called his *guru* in an inscription at Rāmatīrtha. He has also made a gift to the Siva Temple at Tiruvaiyar in Tanjore Dt.

Vimalāditya had two sons, Rājārāja by Kundava and Vijayāditya by Medava Mahadevi also a Chōḷa princess (*M. E. R.*, 1914, 86 ; 1925, 77) Rājārāja (or Rājārājanarendra) named after his maternal grandfather had a long reign during which all the arts of peace flourished a description of which is, however, beyond the scope of this article. The Chōḷa relationship gave the Eastern Chālukyas after Saktivarman, great strength in foreign politics and there was not much disturbance from outside as there used to be before. Still there was internal strife among royal cousins which usually mars Eastern

Chalukyan history. Rājārāja married Ammangadāvi his maternal uncle Rājendra's daughter, and this brought the two royal houses much closer than before. Rājendra's expedition to the Ganges must have passed through Rājārāja's principality and the latter must have participated in the glories of Gangaikondan. (S.I.I. I. 98; E.I. XVIII, 53) The existence of a strong outpost in Andhra gave the Chōla great strength against the Chālukya of the Deccan with whom the Chōla was ever on inimical terms. It also served as a check on Kalinga. Vajrahasta III assumed the high sounding title of lord of Three Kalingas (Trikingadhipati, in 967 Saka (E. I. XI, 148) but his pride was soon put down by the southern conqueror. In view of the thorny foreign politics of Kalinga and Kuntala, the Eastern Chālukyas willingly surrendered their foreign policy to their Chōla relations who thus secured an extensive seaboard for commercial and naval purposes and a favourable field of military operations against their common foes.

Rājārāja Narendra's reign was not free from difficulties. To start with, Rājārāja had trouble from royal cousins particularly from his half-brother Vijayāditya which he had to get over before he could crown himself as king. (1022 A.D.)

Then, his close relation with the Chōla alienated the Chalukya of Kalyān. Sōmēśvara is said to have marched towards the coast and then south into Chōla conquering all the way through. More than that, the Western Chalukya seems to have set Vijayāditya against his brother. Vijayāditya was very unbrotherly and about 1030 A. D. (J. A. H. R. S. II, 277) there was a civil war in which he was helped by Chamaraaja, ornament of the Nāgākula (*Bastar*?) and Bhīma Bhūpa vassal of Rājārāja. It was in the second year after he succeeded in ascending the throne he called himself Mahārājādhirāja and issued the Pamulavāka grant in Kalinga to Bhīma Bhūpa. It might be that the power of Vijayāditya was established only in Madhyama Kalinga. However, Rājārāja drove him out and Vijayāditya seems to have fled for further support to the Western Chālukya whose traditional policy handed down from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa was to side the younger brother against the elder in Andhra. The Deccan ruler seems to have made him chief of Nōlambavādi (*M.E.R.* 1924, 75; *I. A.* XX, 277-8), and his protegee called himself the worshipper of the lotus feet of his patron and even his son, just to please him and get further help. The Nōlambavadi epigraphs are dated 1066 A.D. when Vijayaditya ruled Andhra but perhaps he ruled Nōlambavadi by deputy. There can be no mistaking of the name *Sarvalokāśraya* Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya Maharaja of the Nōlambavadi epigraphs as it is an Eastern Chālukyan name with the two *birudas* and as he is also called Vēngimaṇḍalesvara. That was

an additional reason for Virarājendra's expedition to Vāṅgi once under the Chōḷa, left to itself by his two elder brothers and then in the hands of his enemy.

In 1061 A. D. Vijayāditya advanced on Rajahmundry in the absence of Rājārāja from his capital to try his luck once more, abetted and aided perhaps by the ruler of Kalyan (*M. E. R.* 1914, 86; *J.A.H.R.S.* V, 33). Whither Rājārāja had gone, to put down some vassal instigated by his enemies to rebel, or for any other purpose — we are not in a position to say. On his return, he found to his consternation the successful coup of his brother who held Rajahmundry. A compromise must have been effected by which Vijayāditya was to succeed his brother. Rājārāja died a few months later in 1061. Then Vijayāditya made his son his successor in October 1061 A.D. whereas Kōluttunga should get in after his uncle. This enraged the *Ilango* Rājendra alias Kulōttunga who must have fought with his uncle.

The Nūmiyavāda grant of Saktivarman son of Vijayāditya calls Saktivarman *Samarāikabhairava* and Satyāsraya (*M. E. R.* 1914 p. 86). The Ryāli plates of Vijayāditya (*M. E. R.* 1925, 77) speak of the death of his son Saktivarman a year after his coronation and that the father mourned bitterly as Arjuna did over the demise of Abhimanya on the battlefield.

What was the war in which Vijayāditya and his son Saktivarman fought and the latter lost his life (1062 A. D.)? So far, the Western Chālukya was a friend and we do not hear of Kalinga hostility to Vijayāditya. The war was with Kulōttunga, son of Rājārāja. The Chōḷas, Rājādhirāja and Rājendradēva took no interest in Vāṅgi politics (*E.J.*, XVIII, 54). Kulōttunga naturally expected the throne after his uncle but now Saktivarman stood in his way. When Saktivarman died Kulōttunga was willing to wait till Vijayāditya's death. The later account in Vīra Chōḍa's Chellūr grant of about 1091 A. D. about events that happened in 1062 A. D. must be taken with a grain of salt.

Simply because Kulōttunga is made to say in courteous language that he allowed his uncle to rule as viceroy for fifteen years, let us not be deluded into thinking that the relations between the uncle and the nephew were smooth from the beginning. In 1061 Vijayāditya had his son crowned as his successor when Kulōttunga had not even the ghost of a chance for the headship of the Chōḷa empire though his grand mother might have petted him and prattled about his imperial marks which weighed a feather in the balance against the superior claims and might of Rājendradēva and Virarājendra, not to speak of Adhirājendra. Being utterly helpless in Vāṅgi, Kulōttunga lived in Chōḷa. It was sheer good luck that brought him on to the Imperial throne but credit must also be given for his rare

diplomacy and opportunism which stopped short of nothing. From his high imperial throne, 16 years after his uncle's death, he could speak good words of him and talk of his own prior claims to Vēngi. His uncle's rudeness to him was a blessing in disguise as he was thrown upon his own resources and forced to cultivate the Chōla relationship. He took part in Pandya and Kērala expeditions (*S.I.I.* I, 51 verses 8-11) fought in Chōla wars and created a party in the court to push his claims. His mother's mother had fondled him as the symbol of union of the solar and lunar lines and as having auspicious marks as all grandmothers do. His mother Ammangi perhaps was still alive and had influence. His wife Madhurantaki was the daughter of his uncle Rājēndradēva, predecessor of Virārājēndra. Under the influence of all these, Kulōttunga made a virtue out of necessity and, to use his words, permitted the good and virtuous Vijayāditya to rule as his viceroy. Luck favoured him. Adhirājēndra became unpopular, thanks to his Western Chālukyan relation and to the organised opposition of Rāmānuja's party who favoured the son of Ammangi. What part Kulōttunga played in bringing about the end of Adhirājēndra is unknown (*M. E. R.*, 1913, 105). Anyway he reckons his regnal years from 1070 A. D. and his accession to Vēngi after the death of his father. He prides upon his youthful deeds at Wairagārḥ and Sakkarakōṭṭa where he caught elephants and collected tribute at the point of the sword (*S. I. I.* III, 122-4). He might have also added that in Vēngi his claims were not recognised till he became emperor and he lost his throne at Rajahmundry while he was making doubtful gains in Bastar. So Virachōḍa's apology in the Chellūr grant falls flat on our ears. First annointed to Vēngi which was the cause of the rising of his splendor, wishing for or preferring the Chōla sovereignty, he transferred the sovereignty of Vēngi to his uncle (1061) *Chōḍarājya bhilashin*, *Digvijayāshin* he left it to his uncle—all these thoughts were put in a pleasant reminiscent mood at a later date in Vira Chōḍa's records.

1 Ammangi Ammuāl and Utkala Ammuāl are two of the disciples of Rāmānuja. But, we cannot say if the former was Queen Ammangi.

MISCELLANY

DATE OF THE NARASINGHANATH* INSCRIPTION.

Narasimhanāth (Sambalpūr District, Orissa) temple inscription of the time of Vējaladēvarāya, son of Vairāja dēvarāja, of Pāṭaṇā. This inscription was noticed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Annual Report* for 1904—5, p. 124, of the Archaeological Survey of India. The date of this record, which is the subject of discussion in the following paper, runs as follows :

L. 1.Sri Vikāri-nāma samb(v)atsarē
Raivata-māha — — Sukra-vāre Hastanakṣatrū *etc.*

Dr. Bhandarkar thinks that this cyclic year falls in 1359 A. D., which may be the date of Vējala, mentioned in the list of the Mahārājas of Pāṭaṇā given in the C. P. Gazetteer, pp. 483 ff.

Editor.

Narsinghnāth is a holy place in the Padampūr Zamīndāri of the Sambalpūr District, formerly in Chhaṭṭisgarh Division, C. P. and now in Orissa. It is famous and attractive for its beautiful waterfalls and rich natural scenery.

Through the courtesy of the late Rāja Rājēndrasingh Barihā, Zamindar of Bora Sambar Zamindari, and of Pandit T. B. Pūjāri, B.Sc. the then S. D. O. of Bargarh Tahsil, I got eye-copies and transcript of the stone inscription at Narsinghnāth for the first time in 1923.

On 7-6-1923, I wrote in English a short paper on "The fixing of the dates of the Chauhan Rajas of Sambalpur" and submitted it in 1925 to Rai Bahadur (later on Dr.) Hiralal B.A., M.R.A.S. for his opinion. While returning my article the learned Rai Bahadur was pleased to remark:—

'As I told you, I have not studied the Patanā Chauhan history but I congratulate you on your successfully refuting Dr. Bhandarkar in respect of the Narsinghnāth inscription date, which he wrongly calculated. The details quite agree with your surmise in Vikram year 1351 as you will find in the text corrected by me though by a curious coincidence Caitra Pūrṇima did fall on a Friday (15th March 1359 A. D.) but the Saka cyclic year was Vilambi, and *not* Vikāri. It was a fortnight after that the Vikāri commenced and the Caitra Pūrṇima in that cyclic year fell on Thursday 2nd April 1360 A. D.' The Rai Bahadur further stated as follows:—

"Dr. Bhandarkar made his calculation according to the *Saka* Calendar and not Vikram and thus his conclusion was vitiated."

* The place is so called in that locality.

I paused to publish my original paper under reference, and prepared a short note in Hindi, which appeared in the May number of the Hindi Journal "*Mādhuri*" of Lucknow U. P. (Vol. 3, Part II, No. 5, 1925). It was styled as follows: "Was the cyclic year Vikāri current in 1359 A. D.?" My paper drew the attention of Mr. M. P. Shrivatsava, B.Sc., Head Master, Govt. High School, Rai Bareli, U. P.

In the issue of the same Hindi Journal '*Mādhuri*' (Vol. IV, Part I, No. 3, September 1925), he tried to reply to my query and to prove that the Vikāri year was present in 1359 A. D., according to Southern Indian system.

This done, I opened correspondence with a number of scholars including Rai Bahadur B. Jagannath and Pt. Gorelal Tiwari of Bilaspur C. P. In due course I submitted the whole volume of the lengthy correspondence to Mr. M. P. Shrivatsava for his scrutiny and conclusion. After patiently studying every phase of the question Mr. Shrivatsava contributed a learned paper to the *Mādhuri* Journal (Vol. IV, Part II, No. 6, July 1926). His paper is styled "Date of the Narsinghnath temple inscription."

Leaving aside his discussions, I would like to note down his findings on the five controversial points, presented to him for consideration. They are:—

If the Vikāri year falling in 1351 Vikram has a Friday on its full moon day of the month of Caitra with Hastā nakṣatra, then the date of Narsinghnath inscription can safely be accepted as Vikram Samvat 1351 (= 1294 A. D.)

My reply to the above is this. The full-moon day began on Friday at sun set in 1351 Vikram samvat, but there was no Hastā nakṣatra that day till mid-night. So it cannot be accepted that there was Hastā nakṣatra with Friday on that date.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal remarks thus:—

"The details quite agree with your surmise in Vikram year 1351. In that year the full-moon day of Caitra fell on Friday, 1st April 1295 A. D. does not hold good. In 1295, there was no Vikram Samvat 1351 with the cyclic year, Vikāri. Similarly R. B. Jagannath's rough calculation cannot stand scrutiny and is unacceptable".

In 1359 A. D. (Dr. Bhandarkar's calculation), the Caitra-Pūrṇima fell before the Mūsa-Saṅkrānti and therefore there was no Vikāri that year.

In Vikram year 1410 there was Vikāri year, no doubt, but the Caitra Pūrṇima fell on Wednesday and not on Friday.

In 1470 Vikram, the Caitra-Pūrṇima fell on Friday with Hastā-nakṣatra and there was Vikāri cyclic year present. This date corresponds to 17th March 1413 A. D.

As the details agree in every respect, the date of the Narsinghnath inscription cannot be other than 17th March 1413, Caitra-Pūrṇimā of Vikram Samvat 1470.

When there is sufficient data to find out the year, why should one rely upon the broken reed of palaeography which is not always and everywhere an unmistakable guide? In my paper entitled "Chauhan Maharajas of Patna State" ¹ I had stated that according to Mr. Mahāvīra Prasad Shrivatsava, B.Sc., the date of the Narsinghnath inscription can be accepted as 1470 Vikram.

Mr. Vināyak Mishra in his paper 'Narsimhanath stone inscription of Baijaladēva' ² writes:—

"It is difficult to ascertain the date of this inscription by working out the above astronomical details. Because we do not know whether the cyclic year *Vikāri* of the Jupiter of the inscription belong to the Northern or Southern system."

We can assure Mr. Vinayak Mishra that the tract covering the Borasambar Zamindari, in which the holy place Narsinghnath is situate falls within the country where the Northern system of Calendar was and is in vogue and it does not go out of the pale of *Aryāvarta*.

The various *Pañjikas* in Oriya language published from Cuttack and Puri Districts in Orissa are prepared according to Northern system of calculations, so far as my information goes. Apart from this, the very fact that Caitra-Pūrṇimā with *Vikāri* cyclic year, cannot help an astronomer to take the calculation and system of Calendar to be of the Southern Part.

According to Southern system, the year begins with *Pauṣa-saṅkrānti* which continues up to the next *Pauṣa-saṅkrānti* and the very name of the cyclic year remains for 12 months.

In 1359 A. D. (Vide Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's calculation) the Caitra-Pūrṇimā had fallen before *Pauṣa-Saṅkrānti* and therefore, there was no *Vikāri* year on that date.

The astronomical details quite agree when the date is taken according to Northern system and leave no room for further doubt, under the circumstances, why should one discard these useful details and take the shelter of palaeography as does Mr. Vinayak Mishra.

Mr. Vinayak Mishra has, no doubt, published a facsimile of the inscription but the letters are indistinct, and it is not possible to compare and verify the correctness of his reading.

Dr. Bhandarkar read Bachharāja, on the spot about 1903-04, we read it, "Baikarāja" or Bekarāja = Vikramārkarāja. What

¹ I. H. Q. Vol. VIII, No. 8, September 1932, pp. 618-628.

² I. H. Q. Vol. XII, p. 455, ff.

Mr. Vinayak Mishra reads for *manōhar putrārtha* was read by us as *Harān pāpa tīrthe* and so on.

We don't hold any brief to prove that the rulers of Paṭanā cum Sambalpur Raj, were designated as "Mahārājas" from the very beginning. This might have been the fact that among their people, they (the Chauhan rulers) would have been known and styled as "Mahārājas." The oldest Govt. records which are reliable give their names with the title of Mahārājas, while in case of other Ruling princes or chiefs, the Government records are not found to contain the word 'Mahārājas' for them.

Why the rulers of Paṭanā only were called Mahārājas and were recorded so in Govt. records of those days and why the British Officers did not hesitate to accept it, and why the British Govt. put in their despatches and Govt. publications the same, is not our subject for investigation. Mr. Mishra says that in his own inscription Baijaldeva calls himself simply a Rāja and not a *Mahārāja*.

The inscription appears to be a simple and religious affair and if there is an absence of words and titles like Aṣṭādaśa Durgādhisvara and Mahārāja, it is quite becoming of a noble-hearted and religious-minded king, unassuming and unostentatious.

In all likelihood the inscription was the creation of some local *Sādhu* — a devotee of god Śrī Narsimha Nāth, and not a royal or official charter. Its language, its style and its wordings — all disclose this fact. The firmly rooted tradition that the Chauhan rulers of Paṭanā were the overlords of a number of subordinate chiefs or local rulers, does go to prove that they were accepted by them as their *Mahārājas*! Later on the Sambalpur Chauhan Rulers — a scion of the Paṭanā Chauhan family — became the Mahārājas of a cluster of 8 subordinate Chieftains called Aṭhāragarh and Feudatory States like Sarangarh, Sakti, Bargarh, Raigarh, Sorepur, Bamra, Bonia, Rerakhole and Zamindaries like Bindranawagarh (present day Chhurā) and Phuljhar accepted the Rulers of Sambalpur Rāj as their overlords, and did homage to them.

L. P. PĀNDEYA SARMĀ.

IS CUDDAPAH DISTRICT NOT THE ANCESTRAL HOME OF THE ĀRAVIḌU?

There is support for the theory that there is a close and intimate connection between the Āraviḍu chiefs and the Cuddapah District and that in fact it is their ancestral home. The word "Āraveṭi" in Telugu means "pertaining to Āraveḍu". The ancestors of Āraviṭi Rāma Rāja who captured Kurnool and made it his capital, are said in several Telugu poems to be lords of "Āraveṭipura". Now, where was this town Āraveṭipura or Āraveḍu? To this question I have found no answer in Rev. Heras's book on the Āraviḍu Dynasty, nor in the *Sources of Vijayanagar History* of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. But in casually turning over the pages of Vol. IV of the *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. I found at p. 270 a reference in the text to Āraveṭipura with the following foot-note by Dr. Hultsch, the then editor:—"Mr. K. Venkatakrishnayya, clerk of the Madras Law College, informs me that the Madras Manual of Administration, Vol. III, p. 765, mentions a place named Āraveḍu, 16 miles w. s. w. from Rāyachōṭi in the Cuddapah District." The note shows that Dr. Hultsch thought that Āraveḍu in the Rāyachōṭi Taluq (bordering on the Chittore District) might be the *Āraveṭipura* of the Telugu poems. On looking up Mr. Gribble's Cuddapah District Manual (of 1875), I find that Āraveḍu is given in the list of villages in the Rāyachōṭi Taluq and it had a population of 2716 inhabitants. In the Cuddapah District Gazetteer (of 1915) the village is noted in the map attached to the publication but no mention is made of it in the list of important villages in the Rāyachōṭi Taluq. It looks as if the Archaeological Department had not tried to follow up the suggestion of Dr. Hultsch.

It seems to me that the following points may be helpful when considering the theory of the identity of Āraveḍu in Rāyachōṭi Taluq with Āraveṭipura of the poems:—

(1) There seems to be no other big village identified as Āraveṭipura (so far as I know).

(2) The poem *Rāmarājīyam* states that Āraveṭi Sōmadēva and his son Āraviṭi Bukka ruled at Āraveṭipura and that the latter's son Āraviṭi Rāma Rāja captured Kurnool from the Savai (Sultan of Gōlkonda) and made it his capital. With reference to Āraviṭi Bukka it is stated by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (at p. 102 of his *Sources*) that Bukka was a general under the Vijayanagar Emperor Sāluva Narasimha (of the second or *Sāluva* dynasty). The same learned author states (at pages 8 & 92) that Sāluva Narasimha held the fief of Chandragiri which was his ancestral residence. Āraviṭi Bukka's help to Sāluva Narasimha was so great that he is referred to by the author of *Rāmarājīyam* as having earned the title of

“the establisher of Saluva Narasimha’s line.” These facts seem to suggest that Bukka was the petty chieftain of Āraveḍu in the Cuddapah District; that he however came to prominence under the Saluva dynasty; and that his son Rāma Rāja removed his headquarters to Kurnool after he got it as a jaghir from the Emperor. Āraṇṇi Bukka must have lived very near Chandragiri to be of great use to Saluva Narasimha.

(3) There is a very large number of Āraveṭi families in the districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool.

(4) If it should be asked how Āraveḍu lost its importance when it was the ancestral home of the Āraṇṇi kings, it must be remembered that (as stated at p. 36 of the Cuddapah District Gazetteer) the Rāyachōṭi Taluq was in the Udayagiri Province under the Vijayanagar kings. But Udayagiri was temporarily lost to the empire (thanks to the kings of Orissa and the Reddis of Koṇḍaviḍu) till the great Krishnadēvarāya reconquered it. It was finally lost to the empire in 1580, much earlier than the Cuddapah district.

(5) There are several villages in the Rāyachōṭi Taluq and the surrounding area ending with *veḍu* or *Veeḍu*, such a Ghaliveḍu Nooliveḍu, Mudiveḍu, Goṭṭiveḍu.

If Āraveḍu in Rāyachōṭi was the Āraveṭipura of the Telugu poems, the Cuddapah District gets the pride of place as the ancestral district of the *Rāyalu* i. e. of the kings of the Āraṇṇi or Karnāṭa dynasty.

T. Bhujanga Rao, M. A., B. L.,
Dewan Bahadur (Retired Dist. & Sessions Judge)

REVIEWS

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IDEAS OF BENOY SARKAR

By Baneswar Dass. 462 pages, Chuckerverthy Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., Calcutta, 1939. Price Rupees Eight. With a foreword by Narendra Nath Law.

As indicated in the title, the object of this Volume is to describe the Fundamental ideas in the works of Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar who is one of the most voluminous of Indian writers on Economics and Sociology. For the past thirty years nearly he has worked in the field and reaped a rich harvest. There is also no doubt that he is a keen observer, a great traveller and a deep thinker. Hence his programme of Reform has to be regarded with the respect due to such a learned author who combines in himself the culture of the East with that of the West.

What distinguishes him from the other great Indian Economists (like Prof. Kale, the late Mr. Gokhale, Prof. P. J. Thomas and Dr. John Matthai) is that he has started Economic work in his mother tongue, i. e. Bengali and the Institutes he has founded have not only popularised his ideas among the masses but also produced results which are quite creditable to them.

Particularly valuable are Prof. Sarkar's researches on the Population Problem and the Tariff Question as affecting India.

It was the complaint of the older politicians like M. G. Ranade and Sri P. M. Mehta that there were few Indian Economists (of international reputation) who could meet the Finance Member of the Government of India on his own ground. We are glad that this defect is slowly being remedied and a person of the outstanding ability of Prof. Sarkar has emerged into prominence.

In books of this type, it is natural for the author to become a 'hero-worshipper'. Phrases like 'Sarkarism' and 'the Seven Creeds of Sarkar' may be mentioned as instances in point. But even making allowance for such things, there is no doubt that Prof. Sarkar is a man of ideas who has helped to raise India's name in the world of Politics and Economics. He wields also a facile pen and it is a pleasure to read what he has to say on any topic. And we are grateful to Baneswar Dass for bringing together in this volume all the ideas of Sarkar in the many departments in which he has distinguished himself - Education, Banking, Currency and Railway besides purely Economic Questions.

N. R. K.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT Vol.II. [By Dr. Beyon Kumar Sarkar, Chuckervetty Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., Calcutta. Price Rs. 6: P. 301.]

This is a reprint of seven articles published at different dates by the learned author on topics of Economic interest. The topics dealt with are:—Foreign Insurance Companies and their control, The Reichsbank and the Banque de France (with a view to note the principles on which the Reserve Bank of India ought to be started); the Bank capitalism of Bengal. which describes the rapid growth of banking organisations in Bengal, compared with the other countries of the world; the Railway Industry of India, which gives us an account of Railway development in our country compared and contrasted with the rest of the world; Rationalisation in Indian Business, which shows that Indian Industrial magnates are intelligently absorbing the principles of Rationalisation, first introduced in the west, and a study of the Unemployment and Depression all the world over from 1929 to 1932.

Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar is an acknowledged authority in Indian Economics and a careful study of these articles shows how he keeps himself up to date by constant travel and keen observation. He is, at the same time, a great Indian Patriot and through-out, he seems to hold the thesis, that, given suitable opportunities, Indians can distinguish themselves in every walk of life. Insurance, Banking, Railway management and the starting of heavy industries are supposed to be new to India. But in all of them they have easily made their mark, because of their wonderful powers of assimilating fundamental principles and adapting them to Indian conditions.

As may be expected in such a learned volume, there are tables of statistics of all sorts and types culled from Indian and foreign journals and Government Publications. There are also nine charts in which the various subjects of discussion are graphically represented.

If only a suggestion is pardonable to an author of world wide reputation, we would say that the articles might be brought up to date in every new edition. What we mean is this. The Insurance, Railway and Banking statistics, instead of stopping with 1931 or 1932, may be brought up to 1936 or 37.

For the rest, it is a pleasure to read the book which is written in a fairly easy style, which is at once a tribute to the mastery of the subject and a capacity to express most difficult ideas in language which could be understood by even the lay man.

Needless to add, we are eagerly looking forward to the Publication of volume IV dealing with Economic Remakings in East and West, from the same author.

N. R. K.

. HISTORY OF TIRUPATI Vol. I, by Dr. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., Published by the Commissioner, Tirupati-Tirumalai Devasthanam Committee, Price Rs. 5/-

Dr. S. K. Aiyangar and the T. T. D. Committee deserve to be congratulated for bringing out an attractive Volume dealing with the history of the Sri Venkatachalapathi shrine on the Tirupati Hills. The learned author discusses in the preface the extent and value of the different types of sources, inscriptional and literary, which throw light on the gradual growth and rise into prominence of this shrine, one of the most important in S. India.

The ancient period, so far as the history of Tirupati is concerned extends from about the beginning of the Christian era down to the middle of the XIV century. We have no definite information as to who the first human founder of the temple was. It is what is called a shrine self-create (*Svamyambhūsthala*), but, as far as the historical position is concerned, Tondaman chakravarti, as he is called in later literature and probably a local chieftain, must be regarded as the human founder. The Puranic sources take back the origin to somewhere between the beginning of the Vikrama era and the Saka era, that is, in the first century B. C. or A. D. We find the shrine in Tirupati figuring in the earliest secular sources of information we have for South India and is already a shrine with arrangements for conducting both the daily worships and also the more important annual festivals. Whatever be the character of the image or the peculiar features that it exhibits, the place passed in the estimation of the people as a Vaishnava holy place during the first eight centuries of its existence, especially from the period of the great Ālvārs.

From the IX to the middle of the XII century is the Age of the Vaishnava Acharyas. A study of the lives of Nādamuni Yāmunacharya and Tirumalai Nambi reveals the fact that during this period the Vaishnavas regarded it as a holy place of pilgrimage and that some of them considered it to be their duty to make efficient arrangements, as far as they could, for the care of the shrine in a locality not as yet well inhabited. The Age of Rāmānuja was an age of rising sectarianism and sectarian controversies in which even enlightened rulers like Kulottunga I were being drawn. The controversy spread to Tirupati and at the invitation of the local Chief Yādavarāya Ramanuja proved the Vaishnava character of the temple. Ramanuja 'made the original for worship in very many particulars as it is now'. The management of the temple was in private hands through right though the state interfered to set matters right whenever there was any absolute need for such interference.

During the next two centuries after } the Age of Rāmānuja the authorities in charge of the temple changed and even the political possession of the locality changed but the organisation for the management of the temple and the arrangements for worship went on unaffected by any of these changes. During the period of Muhammadan invasions, probably, because of its 'comparative inaccessibility' the shrine at Tirupati did not suffer so much as those at Srirangam, Chidambaram, Rāmēsvaram and Madura.

With the advent of Vijayanagar we are on what might almost be regarded as the modern period of the history of the hill shrine. A large number of inscriptions covering the first century of the history of Vijayanagar reveal that the temple management continued to remain autonomous and under the control of the Sri-vaishnavas of the locality. The chanting of the Veda was the one item that was introduced during the time of Dēvarāya. Benefactions increase in number and they were largely of a private character.

The book is thus so full of interesting and important material concerning not only the shrine at Tirupati but also regarding the history of the locality through the ages. The value of the book is enhanced by the inclusion of an index and as many as seventeen illustrations. We are, thus, grateful to the author for the thought provoking volume he has given us.

At the same time it is our painful duty to point out to certain fundamental defects in the book. (1) The History of a shrine brought out by the authorities of a Devasthanam may be intended to serve three classes of readers, (a) the ordinary educated pilgrim anxious to know the traditional history of the shrine, (b) the rational but busy pilgrim who is anxious to know not only the traditional account but also a reasoned historical account of the growth of the temple and (c) the earnest research student who has the leisure and the intellectual equipment to study the original authorities, sift evidence and arrive at conclusions which can stand the test of scrutiny. Dr. Aiyangar attempts to satisfy all the three types of readers and the result is, in spite of possessing a racy style and an analytical mind, the account is confusing. The printed matter is increased unnecessarily and avoidable matter is allowed to creep in. I wish Dr. Aiyangar had bestowed a little more thought on the arrangement of the matter. (2) The first chapter is entitled 'General Geographical features' though only the first three pages refer superficially in my opinion, to the Geographic background of the Tirupati region. One wishes that Dr. Aiyangar had essayed the task of linking up the strategic position of the Vengadam Hills and the rise of the temple there. Why do we have a shrine at Tiruvannamalai, at Palani or at Alagarcoil. Did the shrine arise in those places purely

for religious purposes or for other reasons as well. This is a line of thought which is well worth investigation and Tirupati affords a fine example. It is a pity Dr. Aiyangar did not look at Tirupati from this geographic and military point of view. (3) The South Indian temples were not merely religious institutions but were social institutions as well. Dr. Aiyangar has not shown us how far the temple at Tirupati played this part through the ages, it being a centre of learning, arts like sculpture, painting, dancing etc., and social life. Probably Dr. Aiyangar will devote a chapter to this aspect of the history of Tirupati in Vol. II. (4) Again it is not possible for us to agree with Dr. Aiyangar in regard to the probable period of the shrine. It may be a very ancient shrine but to place its foundations in the early years of the Christian Era is to ask us to believe, more than we can, in tradition of a later date. (5) Why does Dr. Aiyangar attempt right through the book to prove that the shrine was a Vaishnavite shrine not only in the age of the *Alvars* or the post-Ramanuja period but from the very earliest times? I suppose he has no propagandist aim in view. Probably, it is the case of the deity of a primitive people getting ultimately organised, finding subsequently a place in the Hindu pantheon and then in the age of *Bhakti* and rising sectarianism becoming identified with Vishnu. (6) I shall not refer to the repetitions of the origin of the same story e.g. Kañikāṇṇan story (p. 105) or the period allowed for Raja Raja's rule from 1216 A.D. to 1246 A.D. These other minor blemishes which mar the book a little are sure to be removed when the next edition is printed.

G. N.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA: Annual Report 1936-37. Edited by Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, Director-General of Archæology in India. New Delhi; Price: Rs. 19-10-0 or 30 shillings.

The Director-General of Archæology in India presents in this volume a full report of the work done during the year 1936-37. We are told that this will be the last report which contains an account of the activities in Burma and also the last one issued on the lines planned about thirty years ago. The Government of India seem to be planning a new orientation of the Department and its activities on the lines recommended by the expert appointed during the year 1939. It is therefore hoped that the Annual Reports in future will be confined practically to the routine and administration and authoritative publications pertaining to the latest discoveries, and matters relating to exploration and research, art and archæology, epigraphy and numismatics will be issued regularly from time to time for the benefit of the public. It is hoped that the work of Archæological survey of India will have a more useful and successful career in the service of the people in future.

The Annual Report shows that considerable good work has been done during the year. In the field of excavation the work done at Rajgir has produced some interesting results. The sculptures in red spotted stone of Mathurā found in this locality are evidence of the eastward diffusion of the Mathurā school as far as Rajgir. The sculptures further indicate the prevalence of Nāga worship in Bihar in 1 century B. C. of which Mathurā was a centre. Further excavations at Nandangarh reveal that the temple there which has at least five terraces, one above the other, bears a strong resemblance to the shrine at Paharpur, although the latter was constructed several centuries later than the former. The stupendous dimensions of the brick-built edifice which seems to go back to the 2nd century B. C. is unique and unparalleled in the whole range of monuments of the period to which it belongs. There are also no excavations of fresh sites in the Southern Circle; only a large number of new sites containing fresh ancient inscriptions, burials and funerary pottery and antiquities of the Iron age have been reported.

In the field of epigraphy most of the inscriptions collected in the North belong to the medieval period, except a few fragments in Brāhmi characters from Kosam in Allahabad district. With regard to work in the Southern Circle, the most interesting record is fragmentary inscription in Brāhmi characters belonging to the 3rd century A. D. It is found on a pillar near a Buddhist site on a hillock near Rentāla in Guntur district. It is dated the 5th year of the Ikshvāku emperor Siri Chāintamūla. There are numerous Buddhist sites in Palnad taluk, Guntur district and many of them particularly Rentāla, Madugula and others are already known to the Department. It now remains for the Department to make a systematic and detailed survey of the entire area and excavate them according to a plan. So far the work done at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa had been carried without a definite plan. It is unfortunate that the Nāgarjunakoṇḍa Museum, if rumour be true, should be under constant threat of being abolished, after investing nearly Rs. 40,000 on it, and its exhibits being removed to Calcutta and elsewhere. It will be the greatest injustice to the Andhra country. The Museum building requires many important improvements for the proper protection of the exhibits. Also a descriptive catalogue of the objects preserved in the Nāgarjunakoṇḍa Museum is an urgent necessity. During the year, where intensive excavation was needed as for instance at Mohenjo-daro and Nāgarjunakoṇḍa, proper work had not been undertaken.

An interesting contribution to the volume is an article written by M. Chas. Duroiselle giving a short survey of the religious aspect of the history of Burma prior to the 11th century A.D. The volume is profusely illustrated with plates and pictures and useful index and appendices have been added. On the whole the report is better edited than before and makes an interesting and instructive reading of useful archæological collections and work.

B. V. F.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL MEETINGS held during the year 1939-40.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 18-5-1939.

Members present:—

1. Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur,
2. Sri R. Subbarao, (in the chair)
3. Sri M. Sambasivarao
4. Sri M. Anna Reddi
5. Sri B. V. Krishnarao.

Resolutions:—

2. Read Letter of resignation of the Presidentship of the Society, from K. N. Ananta Raman Esq., M.A., I.C.S

Mr. Ananta Raman's resignation of the Presidentship of the Society is accepted with great regret. The Managing Council places on record its deep debt of gratitude for his immense services in the cause of the Society.

The Secretary is authorised to communicate the Resolution to K. N. Ananta Raman Esq. M.A., I.C.S., Sub Collector, Parvatipur.

3. Resolved to purchase ten reams of printing paper for the Journal of the Society and to print the remaining parts of Volume XII.

4. Resolved to continue the printing of the Journal in the Razan Electric Press, Rajahmundry.

5. Resolved to sanction payment of a sum of Rs. 75 only as advance to the R. E. Press for printing the remaining parts on the day when the work is commenced with *new types*. The printer is requested to send proofs in new type on or before the 15th June 1939.

7. The accounts are checked and passed up to date.

8. Resolved to get blocks in zinc for the Buccireddipalem plates of the Pallava king Simhavarman II, to accompany the article on them written by Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma.

10. The following list of photographs for inclusion in the *REDDI SANCHIKA* is approved.

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS.

1. Pattisam Temple and Hill
2. Nandiswaram Temple and Hill
3. Srisailam : steps leading to the Patala-Ganga.

4. View of the Patala-Ganga
5. 'Virasiro Mandapam' at Srisailam (near Nandi Mandapam)
6. General view of Srisaila temple
7. Amareswara Temple at Amaravati
8. Markandeya temple at Rajahmundry
9. General view of Korukonda Hill and Temple
10. Korukonda temple friezes on the outer walls
11. Korukonda Temple- statues of Singa & Mummadi Nayaka and Lakshmi-dasi Kunapa and his son
12. Tiruchuttumala (vajrampurakota) of the Daksharama temple
13. Kalyana-mandapa at Daksharama temple
14. The eastern mandapa - suryadvara - at Daksharama
15. Mulaguramma's temple at Aminabad
16. Bronze Bells, at Daksharama
17. Kondapalli Fort (at least two views)
18. Ahobilam and steps to the temple
19. Kondavidu Fort, Outer walls and bastions at least four views.
20. Statues in the niches near the simhadvara at the shrine of Ramisvara at Palakolalu (Palkol)

10-b These blocks may be made of zinc.

11. Resolved that Mr. M. Anna Reddy and any other member whom he wants to accompany him, are requested to proceed to Hyderabad-Deccan etc. for the collection of funds for the *Reddi Sanchika* publication.

12. The following gentlemen are appointed to the *Library Committee* for the year 1939-40.

Mr. M. A. Reddy

Mr. R. Subba Rao

Mr. M. Sambasiva Rao.

13. The following gentlemen are elected as *Delegates* to the Tenth Session of the Oriental Conference which will be held in December at Hyderabad-Deccan.

Messrs. B. V. Krishnarao, M.A., B.L.

„ R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T.

„ V. Appa Rao, B.A., B.L.

„ M. Somasekhara Sarma.

„ M. Sambasiva Rao.

„ M. Anna Reddy, M.A., LL.B.

„ V. S. Ramachandramurti, M.A., B.Ed.

Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M.A., Ph.D., L.T.

Mr. C. Sanyasi Raju.

The Honorary Secretary is requested to communicate the above resolution to the *Local Secretary*, The Tenth Oriental Conference, Osmania University, Lallaguda, Hyderabad-Deccan.

14. Resolved to sanction Rs. 20 (Twenty) only towards travelling expenses etc. to and from Madras for Mr. V. Appa Rao;

Editor Reddi Sanchika. The sum may be paid to him as soon as he wants it.

15. Resolved to sanction of Rs. 25 towards scriptural charges for copying inscriptions and Kaifiyats from the *Local Records* in the University Library, Madras University.

16. Perused and checked the Bill for printing dated 30-4-1939 in respect of the *JAHRS*, Vol. XII, Part I, from Mr. C. Nagaraju, Propr. R. E. Press.

Resolved to pass the bill. (as checked and amended). The advances already paid to the printer may be taken into consideration, in the payment of the bill. The minor bills will be checked by the Hon. Treasurer, and Mr. R. Subba Rao and will be reported upon to the Council, for approval and sanction of payment.

17. Resolved to admit the following as an *ordinary* member of the Society. 1939—40.

M. V. Subrahmanyan Esq., M.A., I.C.S.

District Magistrate & Collector, East Godavari Dist.,
COCANADA.

18. Read Letter from Dr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University, Waltair.

Resolved to give him (Dr. C. R. Reddy) permission to reproduce his presidential address published in the *Rajarajanarendra Sanchik* . 1922, in the forthcoming publication of the book 'Dr. C. R. REDDY'S Essays', by the Andhra University.

19. Resolved to repay the principal sum due under the promissory note to Raja Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur. Zamindar with thanks.

The Council places on record its deep debt of gratitude to the Rajah Saheb for his timely help and for writing off the interests. The Hon. Treasurer is requested to pay the sum and take back the promissory note and send it to the Hon. Secretary.

20. Resolved to open a current account in the Innespet Co-operative Central Bank, Innespet, Rajahmundry and also in the Imperial Bank, Rajahmundry, in the name of the Treasurer of the Society.

21. The Society places on record its sense of deep sorrow at the demise of Sri Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao Pantulu garu, one of the four founders of the Society, pioneer and premier worker in the cause of Andhra Historical Research; and to communicate the resolution of the Council to the bereaved members of his family.

22. Read and checked the bills, dated 7-4-1939 from the Proprietor, Modern Hindu Hotel, Rajahmundry for Rs. 2-5-0 and Rs. 15-10-0, = Total Rs. 17-15-0 only and resolved to pay the same.

23. It is reported that the Hon. Secretary Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao will be absent from town for a period of six weeks during the summer season. Resolved that during the period of absence from about 23rd May to 19th June 1939, Mr. N. Kameswara Rao be requested to perform the duties of the Secretary. The Secretary is requested to communicate and authorise the Postmaster, Rajahmundry to deliver all tappals, book-packets, Registered parcels etc. to the Officiating Secretary Sri N. Kameswara Rao during the above period.

24. It is learnt that Mr. B. Viswanatha Sastri, Librarian and Curator has left the town without making arrangements for the work. It is hereby resolved to appoint Mr. M. Anna Reddy to Officiate as Librarian and Curator during the period of absence of Mr. Viswanatha Sastri, till 20th June 1939.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL
HELD ON SATURDAY, 1-7-1939 AT 8 A.M.

Present:—Sri N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu, (*in the chair*)
Sri R. Subba Rao
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
Sri B. Viswanatha Sastri
Raja Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
Sri K. J. Gopala Rao

Resolutions:

1. Accounts of the Society up to date have been checked and adopted.

(Accounts checked by Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T.) The balance in the Savings Bank Account to-day is Rs. 423-4-1 only.

2. The account of the expenditure incurred by the Hon. Secretary in connection with the Reddi Empire Day Celebration is checked and found accurate by Mr. B. V. Sastri and Mr. R. Subba Rao. And the expenditure incurred viz., Rs. 25-0-6 is ratified.

3. The desirability of printing Vol. XII, part II of the *JAHRS* urgently in the Sujanaranjani Printing Works, Rajahmundry as a special measure in as much as the Proprietor, Razan Electric Press Rajahmundry has not so far obtained new types as promised from Madras or even replied to repeated letters from the Secretary.

Resolved to give time prepermtorily to the Propr. R. E. Press till 7-7-1939.

4. Bill No. 636 dated 11-3-1939 for the job work done by the S. R. P. Works, Rajahmundry is checked and passed. Resolved to pay Rs. 7 (Seven) only in full satisfaction of the Bill and close the account.

▼

5. Resolved to admit as an *Ordinary Member* of the Society for the year 1939—40.

Khan Bahadur YAHYA ALI Saheb Bahadur, M.A.,B.L.

District & Sessions Judge, East Godavari, Rajahmundry.

6. In the vacancy of the office of the President, caused by the resignation of Mr. K. N. Anantaraman it is hereby resolved to elect Khan Bahadur Yahya Ali Saheb Bahadur, as President of the Society for the year 1939—40.

7. Resolved to draft and print a circular appeal letter on the lines suggested by Rajah Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur for enlisting the sympathy of the public of Andhradesa.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL
HELD ON 30—7—1939.

Present:—Khan Bahadur Yahya Ali Saheb Bahadur (*President*)

Sri B. Visvanatha Sastri,

Sri B. V. Krishna Rao,

Sri M. Anna Reddy.

1. Read letter from Sri A. D. Pusalker, M.A.,LL.B., Bombay.

Resolved to elect him as a delegate to the Tenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad-Deccan.

2. Read letter from the Propr. Razan Electric Press, Rajahmundry. Resolved to advance a sum of Rs. 100 on the terms proposed by him.

3. Accounts up to date are checked and passed.

5. Resolved to celebrate the Mahabharata and Rajaraja Narendra Day on the 29th and 30th September 1939. Resolved to sanction a sum of Rs. 15 only for the purpose. The Secretary is authorised to do everything for the success of the Celebrations.

6. Resolved to keep over the consideration of the purpose of the Reddi Sanchika work till the next meeting of the Council.

7. Resolved to purchase an almyrah for the Library and a sum of Rs. 50 is sanctioned for the purpose.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL
HELD ON 5—10—39.

Present:—Khan Bahadur YAHYA ALI SAHEB Bahadur, President.

Mr. R. Subba Rao,

Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao,

Mr. B. V. Sastri,

Mr. M. Anna Reddi

Mr. M. Sambasiva Rao
 Rajah Sri K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur
 Mr. N. Kameswara Rao

1. Resolved to admit the following gentlemen as *ordinary members* of the Society.

Lt. Col. J. B. Gibson, Guardian to the Minor Maharaja of Bastar, Bastar State, JAGDALPUR, Bastar.

Gorrepati Venkata Subbayya Garu,
 Landholder, GHANTASALA, Kistna Dt.

Dr. P. Srinivasachar, M.A.Ph.D. (Lond.)
 Principal, S. R. R. College, BEZWADA.

2. Resolved to elect the following gentlemen as *delegates* to the THIRD INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS to be held in December 1939 at Calcutta.

1. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, M.A., B.L.
2. Mr. V. Appa Rao, B.A., B.L.
3. Mr. Mallidi Anna Reddi, M.A., LL.B.

It is expected that the delegates will meet their expenses.

4. Accounts up to date are checked and adopted.

5. Resolved to place on record the grateful thanks of the Council to the District Board, East Godavari, Cocanada for their kind sanction of a contribution of Rs. 200 to the Society.

6. Resolved to elect the following gentlemen as Editor and members of the Editorial Board for the Vol. XIII of the JAHRS.

Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, *Editor*.

Mr. M. Anna Reddi	}	Members of the Editorial Board.
Mr. N. Kameswara Rao		

7. Resolved to authorise the following persons as *ad hoc* committee to peruse the Manuscript (*History of the Eastern Chalukyas*) and to report to the Council before 31-10-39.

Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao has written a letter of request to the Managing Council to permit him to publish his (*History of the Eastern Chalukyas* (a substantial portion of) i.e. the first ten chapters, covering the period from 610 to 1118 A.D. in Vol. XIII of the JAHRS and permit him to take 500 off prints of his article, in a book form.

8. There is good deal of confusion in the Subscription account of the members and subscribers. Mr. N. Kameswara Rao is requested to check the account with a view to determine and prepare an up to date subscription arrears list.

11. The managing council places on record to the Commissioner and Committee of the T. T. Devasthanam, Tirupati, for the free gift of his publications to the Society.

. PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL
HELD ON 12—10—39.

(The meeting was held even before the Hon. Secretary arrived from the residence of the President.)

Present:—Sri N. Kameswara Rao, (Vice-President in the chair)
Rajah K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
Sri B. V. Sastri
Sri M. Anna Reddi
Sri V. Appa Rao
Sri R. Subba Rao.

1. The work of the printing of the Reddi Sanchika so far is reviewed. So far 9 formes, pages 97-168 have been printed.

2. Re. Steps to be taken for expediting the publication, *Heard* the explanation from the EDITOR, Sri V. Appa Rao, and the printer Sri C. Nagaraju. Resolved that since the work will be printed from tomorrow again (13th instant) the new type having been received completely, the council records its satisfaction about the printing of the Sanchika in future.

3. Resolved to request and authorise Mr. Anna Reddi to collect funds by showing the work printed so far to the donars. A copy printed so far may also be sent to Dr. C. R. REDDY.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL
HELD ON 26—11—1939.

Present:—Sri N. Kameswara Rao (in the chair)
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
Sri R. Subba Rao
Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur
Sri M. Sambasiva Rao
Sri B. Viswanatha Sastri.

1. It is now reported to the Council that the Proprietor, Razan Electric Press, has not done anything so far since 12-10-1939 to carry out the oral assurance given by him.

Resolved to entrust the printing of the Reddi Sanchika to the Sujanaranjani Printing Works, Rajahmundry also as the Proprietor, R. E. Press, has not so far in spite of repeated requests been able to compose or print off even a single line of the Reddi Sanchika from 12—10—1939 till 26—11—1939, in order to expedite the work.

2. The report of Mr. N. Kameswara Rao in accordance with Resolution No. 10 dated 5th October, in the matter of checking accounts and bring up to date the list of members and subscribers and determining

the arrears etc. is not received. It is reported that the work is proceeding.

4. Resolved to elect the undermentioned as ordinary member of the Society.

Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma
Tutor in Epigraphy & Archaeology,
Andhra University, Waltair.

8. Resolved to exhibit certain copper-plate grants belonging to the Museum of the Society at the Indian History Congress at Calcutta in December. The Copper-plates are to be entrusted to Mr. R. Subba Rao who is going as a delegate.

(Mr. R. Subba Rao at the meeting of the Council held on 11-12-1939 reported that he was not proceeding to Calcutta ; and therefore the question of the exhibition of the copper-plates is dropped.)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL
HELD ON 26—1—1940.

Present:—Khan Bahadur YAHYA ALI SAHEB Bahadur (in the chair)
Sri M. Anna Reddi
Sri R. Subba Rao
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao

1. Resolved to admit the following gentlemen as *ordinary* members of the Society.

Prof. Abdul Majeed Siddique, M.A.,
Department of History,
Osmania University, Hyderabad (Dn).

Sriman Purna Chandra Rath, B.A., D.Ed.,
Superintendent of Archaeology
Patna State, BOLANGIR P.O., Orissa.

Sri N. R. Kedari Rao, M.A., L.T.,
Lecturer in English,
Government Arts College, Rajahmundry.

2. Resolved to appoint a sub committee consisting of Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao and Mr. R. Subba Rao to check the bills presented for payment by the Proprietor, Razan Electric Press, and to determine the amount due thereunder, before the next meeting of the Council.

Resolved further to pay an advance of Rs. 50 (Fifty) to the Printer (R. E. Press) towards the printing of Vol. XII Part iv of the *JAHRS*.

3. Resolved to elect the same Editor (Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao) and the same Editorial Committee of Messrs. M. Anna Reddy and N. Kameswara Rao) for the Volume XIII of the *JAHRS*.

5. Since it is reported by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao that he is willing to abide by the conditions laid down by the Managing Council at its meeting held on 5-10-1939 and the *ad hoc* committee and to print his *History of the Eastern Chālukyas*, accordingly, it is now resolved he (Mr. B. V. K.) be permitted to take five hundred off prints of his article at his own cost and to acknowledge the same in the *Preface*.

6. Resolved to consolidate all the four parts of the Vol. XIII into one Volume in order to bring the *JAHRS* up to date in an expeditious manner.

7. Resolved to purchase 12 double royal reams of 50 lbs printing paper for Vol. XIII.

8. Resolved to refer the article written by Mirza Nallaparaju of Tuni which is in the nature of a biographical sketch and which is sent through Mr. R. Subba Rao, to the Editorial Board.

9. Resolved to elect the following as additional delegates to the Tenth Session of the Oriental Conference at Tirupati.

Mr. Komaravolu Venkata Subba Rao, B.A.,
Innespeta, Rajahmundry.

Mr. N. R. Kedari Rao, Lecturer,
Government Arts College, Rajahmundry.

10. Read the Circular Letter from the Curator, Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The Secretary is authorised to deal with the matter.

Read letter from the Director of India Studies, Library Congress Washington, U. S. A. The Secretary is authorised to deal with it.

12. Since Reddi Sanchika printing is not progressing, it is hereby resolved to request Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao to submit a report of the work done so far to the Council within a week (before 1-2-1940).

The matter of collecting the outstanding donations is to be held over to the next meeting of the Council for consideration.

14. Resolved to appoint a clerk on Rs. 12 per month from 16-2-1940 in the place of the peon whose services will terminate on 15-2-1940.

15. Resolved to place on record the profound sorrow of the Managing Council of the Society at the sad demise of Mahōpādhyāya Kalāprapūrṇa Rao Saheb G. V. RAMAMURTI PANTULU, B.A., Hon. President of the Society and to communicate the resolution to the members of the bereaved family.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ADJOURNED MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 24-3-1940.

Present:—Mr. R. Subba Rao (in the chair)

Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
Sri Vaddadi Appa Rao
Sri N. Kameswara Rao

1. Resolved that the Annual General Body Meeting be held on 7-4-1940 and that the programme drafted by the Secretary be adopted.

2. Printing Bills in respect of Vol. XII Parts 2 and 3 of the *JAHS* have been checked by Mr. R. Subba Rao and Rajah Sri K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur,; In all Rs. 225 (i.e. Rs. 50 on 16-5-1939, Rs. 75 on 20-7-1939 and Rs. 100 on 2-8-1939) had been paid to the Propr. Razan Electric Press, in respect of bills for printing Parts 2 and 3 of Vol. XII while he is actually entitled to Rs. 222-15-0 only. It is now found that a sum of Rs. 2-1-0 is received by the printer in excess. Resolved that this sum of Rs. 2-1-0 be accounted in settling future bills.

3. Accounts are checked and found correct up to date, the period being from 27-11-1939 to this date 24-3-1940.

4. Read the Auditor's Report dated 12-10-1939 and the Remarks. The suggestions made by the Auditor are noted for future guidance.

5. Considered the progress and the oral report made by Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao, Editor, Roddi Sanchika. Resolved that in view of the inconvenience felt by him and the unsatisfactory progress, the work may again be entrusted to the R. E. Press.

6. In view of the unsatisfactory condition of the finances of the Society, the Kakatiya Sanchika may be sold for a period of one year from this date at the reduced price of Rs. 2 per copy.

7. Resolved to place on the Exchange List of the *JAHS* the following:—

Bulletin of Deccan College Post Graduate
and Research Institute, POONA 6.

Resolved to request Mr. Korada Ramakrishnayya, M.A., Head of the Department of Telugu, Madras University, to send a specimen copy of the *ANNALS* published by the Department of Oriental studies, Madras University, for considering the question of placing it on the Exchange List.

8. Resolved to get the Library of the Society checked. It is also resolved to request Mr. K. Joga Rao of the Government Arts College to check the Library.

THE XVIII ANNUAL REPORT OF THE
ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY
RAJAHMUNDRY, 1939—40.

Presented to the General Body at its 18th Annual meeting
held on 7—4—1940 at 8 A.M. by the Secretary.

We are meeting today under the shadow of a great grief over the demise of two distinguished historians of our land, Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao Pantulu and Rao Saheb Kalaprapūrṇa Mahōpādhyāya Prof. Giḍugu Venkata Ramamūrti. The former was one of the four founders of the Society. He was the first historian of the Andhra; his *History of the Andhras*, is still the only comprehensive outline of the history of this country in Telugu. His life was one of sacrifice for the love of history and his name will go down to posterity as one of the distinguished pioneers in the field of historical research. Kalaprapūrṇa Ramamurti Pantulu was a great scholar, a linguist and a historian. His Grammar for the Savara language was properly recognised as a magnificent work of a rich intellect and he was honoured by the Government of India with the title of Rao Saheb and Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal for his valuable work. He was the first epigraphist in the Andhra country who, without any outside aid or guidance learnt out of his own innate talent to decipher the stone and copper-plate inscriptions and caused wonder to that distinguished epigraphist Dr. E. Hultzsch. Ramamurti Pantulu was for a time a member of the Society, Vice-President during the year 1936—37; later during this year he was elected to the dignity of the Honorary President of the Society. His death is a serious loss to the scholarship in the land and it is hard to find one who is so gifted and learned.

OFFICE-BEARERS

At the annual meeting of the general body held last year on 2—4—1939, the following office-bearers were elected.

<i>President :</i>	K. N. Anantaraman Esq., M.A., I.C.S. 1-4-'39 to 18-5-'39. Khan Bahadur Yahya Ali Saheb M.A., B.L., <i>Elected on 18-5-'39.</i>
<i>Vice-President :</i>	Sri N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu, B.A., B.L.
<i>Secretary :</i>	Sri B. V. Krishna Rao, M.A., B.L.
<i>Treasurer :</i>	Sri K. J. Gopala Rao, B.A., B.L.
<i>Librarian, Curator :</i>	Sri B. V. Sastri, M.A., B.Ed.

*Members of
the council :*

Sri B. Subbarao, M.A., L.T.
Sri M. Anna Reddi, M.A., LL.B.
Sri M. Sambasiva Rao
Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur.

1. LIFE, HONORARY AND ORDINARY MEMBERS

There has been no increase in the number of Life Members and no increase also in the number of Hon. Members.

During the year there had been no encouraging increase in the membership of the Society, though as many as 10 new members have joined the strength on the rolls ever remains the same. To-day the number of members on the rolls is 152 and it is not quite encouraging. During the year we had to strike off as many as 120 names from the rolls because most of these gentlemen were either dead or fell into arrears.

At the last annual meeting of the General Body we elected Ms. V. Prabhakara Sastri and M. Somasekhara Sarma as Hon. Members of the Society. The latter has also joined the Society as an ordinary member since then. According to rules these gentlemen will enjoy the dignity for three years from the date of election, till 1941-42.

2. MANAGING COUNCIL

There have been during the year 10 meetings of the managing Council for transacting the business of the Society.

3. CHANGE IN OFFICE-BEARERS

Early during the year, Mr. K. N. Anantaraman, I.C.S., the President was transferred to Parvatipur and therefore he resigned his Presidentship. The resignation was accepted by the Managing Council at its meeting held on 18-5-1939 and in his place our present President was elected by the Council on 23-7-1939 under the powers vested in it by the Rules. Our grateful thanks are due to Mr. Anantaraman who did much to improve the position of the Society.

4. LIBRARY AND READING ROOM

During the year the Library and Reading Room continued to attract a large number of visitors. But the working of the Library had not been quite satisfactory. During the year there have been regularly about ten visitors to the Library and on two occasions, the Museum and the Library shown to the students of the IV and V Forms of the Training College, Model High School, on the requisition sent by the Headmaster. The students greatly enjoyed the visit to the Museum as it proved to be but highly instructive to them.

5. LIBRARY

It was expected that a proper catalogue would be prepared either as a Supplement or as a new catalogue during the year but that was not to be. No doubt the Council on the suggestion of Mr. R. Subba Rao appointed a clerk to check the Library and prepare a catalogue by revising the previously printed one and bringing the Catalogue up to date. The clerk did the work admirably well but the Catalogue prepared by the clerk had not been revised. The Library too has not been properly arranged; the books are kept without numbers and there are no devices to pick up books quickly and correctly. The Library and the Museum deserve a careful and enthusiastic attention much as it did not before. The Library needs careful arrangement according to a plan and the catalogue has to be prepared in such a manner that maximum amount of convenience in consulting the books is secured.

There have been useful additions to the Library during this year. And the most notable of them all is the publication of *SANCHI* by Sir John Marshall in three Volumes costing Rs. 216. The publication of the excellently printed monograph with large plates of all details of the sculptures of the great monument was undertaken with the princely help given by the Bhopal Durbar. A set of 3 Volumes was presented to the Society by the Government of India through the kind offices of Rao Bahadur K. N. Diskhit; and our grateful thanks are due both to the Government of India (Department of Education, Health and Lands) and to the Director-General of Archaeology in India. The Society has been fortunate to receive as a gift from the Commissioner T. T. Devasthanams, all the publications of the Tirupati Oriental Institute. These are important and useful additions to the Society's Library.

During the year the Government Epigraphist requested the Society to send him estampages of copper-plate grants published in the Society's Journal. The Secretary accordingly supplied ink impressions of the Anaparti Grant of Kumāragiri, and the Rajah-mundry Museum Plates of Annadeva Choda. During this year some of the C. P. grants secured by the Society for the Museum were lent to the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle. They are the Elamanchili plates of Amma II and the Eluru grant of Sarvalōkāsraya. Both these plates have been published in the Society's Journal. There have not been any additions to the Society's Museum during this year either in the collection of copper-plates or coins.

6. ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

During the year the 3rd session of the Indian History Congress was held in December 1939 at Calcutta. It is well known that the

Indian History Congress owing to its annual sessions is growing in importance and equalling the All-India Oriental Conference which meets once in two years. To the Congress the Society elected two delegates Messrs. B. V. Krishna Rao and R. Subba Rao. Both of them submitted papers to the Congress which were accepted. Mr. Krishna Rao attended the Congress and read his paper, *on the Origin and Original Home of the Chālukyas*. Mr. Subba Rao could not attend the conference though he contributed a paper on "The relations between Kalinga and Bengal in the Fourteenth Century."

The Tenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference which was to have been held in Hyderabad under the auspices of the Osmania University could not be held in December last as was originally planned. It was held recently in Tirupati. To that Conference however, the Society deputed as many as 6 delegates. They are: Mr. R. Subba Rao, Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, Mr. A. D. Puselkar, Mr. N. R. Kedari Rao, Mr. M. Anna Reddi and Mr. K. V. Subba Rao. Several of them attended and the papers of others were sent to the Conference.

During the session at Tirupati, Dr. M. Rama Rao a member of the Society, was elected to the Executive Council of the Oriental Conference.

7. REDDI SANCHIKA

Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao, Editor of the *Reddi Sanchika* has been endeavouring his best to bring out an excellent publication. There has been unavoidable delay owing to a number of causes. The delay is partly due to the contributors who have been putting off the sending of their articles and partly to the lethargy of the Press. Till now 12 formes of the *Reddi Sanchika* have been printed and it is hoped that during this year Mr. V. Appa Rao will exert himself vigorously to see that the Volume is published. The Council had sanctioned and paid a sum of Rs. 20 towards travelling expenses during the year for going to Madras, to collect materials etc. for the *Reddi Sanchika*. It had also sanctioned provisionally a sum of Rs. 25 towards scriptory charges for copying some of the important Telugu Inscriptions from the *Local Records* and other sources. Mr. Appa Rao in consultation with the Editorial Board has decided to incorporate in the *Reddi Sanchika* all the important source materials like inscriptions, copper-plate and stone and extracts from literary works and *kaifiyats*. It is for this purpose that a small sum has to be spent. Owing to the lethargy of the Press, the Council decided to give a portion of printing of the *Reddi Sanchika* to the S. R. P. Works, but even there the work has not been satisfactory.

Mr. Appa Rao's statement on the progress of the *Reddi Sanchika* is herewith enclosed.

EDITOR, *Reddi Sanchika* begs to submit the following Report:—

During the year *i.e.* after the celebration of the Reddi Day, 90 pages of matter had been printed and one forme is in proof. The Razan Press stopped the work for 4 months stating that they had ordered for new types. Even after the press was changed to Sujanaranjani, work was not done rapidly. Proofs were not sent properly and work was not attended to (owing to want of hands). Only half of a forme was being composed and printed at a time. Now the work is again given to Razan Press.

Even now, if the press fully co-operated the major portion of the work can be done in 3 months.

The following articles are ready to be given to press:—

- M. S. Sarma - Kāpaya Nāyaka.
- Dr. N. V. Ramanayya - Some unpublished epigraphs of the Reddis.
- Pendyala S. Sastry - Some Historical facts about Reddi History.
- M. Gurubrahma Sastry - Bhāskarachāryulu.
- Ambati Subbaraya Chetty - Social History of the Reddi times.
- V. Prabhakara Sastry - Presidential address.
- Sagi V. Narasimham - Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa.
- B. Tammayya - Śrī Nātha.
- T. Kameswara Rao - Śrī Nātha.

Verses composed by

- Mr. K. Venkata Rao
- Mr. M. G. B. Sarma
- Mr. B. Tammayya
- Dr. C. R. Reddi

ARTICLES PROMISED

- B. V. Krishna Rao - Foreign Relations of the Reddis.
- R. Subba Rao - 1. Reddis and the Kalinga Kings.
2. Historical Geography of the Reddi kingdom.
- C. V. Sarma - Śaivism during the times of Reddis.
- P. Seshadri Sastry - The Reddis.
- Nidadavolu Venkata Rao - Śivalilā vilāsam.
- Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya - Reddis and Gajapatis.
- Dr. M. Rama Rao - Koṇḍaviḍu.

The Council has to take steps for getting blocks made of the photographs to be published in the *Reddi Sanchika*.

The Editor has gathered some material in Inscriptions, and some more have to be copied.

The Editor regrets for the delays due whether from himself or from other sources and promises to expedite the work during the next quarter, with the help of the Secretary and the Council.

V. APPARAO.

8. PAYMENTS OF OLD DEBTS

At a time when the Society finances were depleted owing to a combination of circumstances, Rajah K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur, Zamindar of Gazzaram and Kalipatam lent the Society a sum of Rs. 75 on a pronote executed by the Secretary. This was in 1937. During the year it had become possible to pay the old debt and the Society's grateful thanks are due to the Raja Saheb for his generosity in giving a timely loan, without charging interest.

9. JOURNAL

The Society's Journal Vol. XII should have been finished and issued during this year. Here again there has not been sufficient co-operation from the Press. Consequently Vol. XII, Part 4 still remains unpublished. It is unfortunate that it has not been possible to publish the *JAHRS* as desired owing to this difficulty. It is hoped that before the end of April at least the part will be issued. At a meeting of the Managing Council held on 25-11-39 it was resolved to issue Vol. XIII as one consolidated part and to bring it out before July or August, 1940-41, to be up-to-date and in order that Vol. XIV might be commenced in regular parts from that date. It may be remembered that Vol. XIII is for the year under report 1939-40 and Vol. XIV will be for the year to run. So if it becomes possible to issue Vol. XIII (Consolidated) before the end of the half year (September) the Council might well take up Vol. XIV and keep abreast of the time. It may be of interest to the General Body to know that Vol. XIII will contain *History of the Eastern Chālukyas from 610-1210 A. D.* by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao as the leading article.

During the year the Society received the usual Municipal grant and is expecting the District Board Grant in the course of this month. Our Society's thanks are due to the District Board East Godavari and the Rajahmundry Municipality.

It has been found by experience that a clerk is more useful to the Society in place of a peon. For the present the Society's finances do not permit the employment of both the peon and clerk. So from the month of February the Society has employed a clerk on Rs. 12 per mensem.

Journal of the ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

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PART II

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NORTHERN CIRCARS

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CHAPTER IV.

DIRECT MANAGEMENT AND THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF CIRCUIT (1769—1779)

(Continued from p. 34 of the previous issue)

In a letter dated 19 November 1773, the Masulipatam Council laid their finger upon some of the vital issues connected with zamindari rights in the Sarkars.¹ They found out that no further increase of the revenues of the Sarkars would be possible unless certain zamindari abuses which had gained currency during the lax administration of the government of Hyderabad and slowly obtained a show of legality, were corrected. The turbulence of the zamindars in the Sarkars and their refusal to pay tribute to the Dekkan government resulted in their complete reduction by Nizam-ul Mulk in 1730 and the wholesale conversion of their zamindaries into *haveli* lands. But the anarchy which prevailed after his death gave the dispossessed zamindars an opportunity to re-establish their power and procure formal *sanads* from the subsequent weak governments at Hyderabad sanctioning their pretensions. They never paid any tribute and practically remained independent of outside control.

1 *Masulipatam to Madras*. 19 November 1773, No. 233. *idem* 26 November Vol. 36, pp. 776—82.

Similar arguments have been used by John Sullivan, for sometime a member of the Masulipatam Council, in his letter addressed to the Court of Directors, dated 3 February 1779, on the revenue and judicial management of the Northern Sarkars. See his *Tracts Upon India*, pp. 156—254.

This letter is a very important contribution to our knowledge of the condition in the Sarkars and offers several relevant suggestions for the improvement of the administration.

Nearly all the zamindars maintained considerable *sibbandies* and unable to support them from the legitimate revenues of their countries, reimbursed themselves by means of official plunder and mutual encroachments whenever opportunities were available. They further found occasion to levy cesses on the defenceless inhabitants. Since the government's share of the revenues had been based upon the net receipts from the country, the heavy expenses of the *sibbandies* deprived the central authority of a considerable portion of its legitimate claims. The first method of increasing the company's revenues would be to restrain the zamindars "from retaining a greater number of people than may be sufficient for their necessary attendance upon occasions of public ceremony".

Next to this wastage of public revenues on the maintenance of useless troops, the zamindars enjoyed "civil rights" originally belonging to the government. Foremost among them was that of imposing and collecting duties upon various articles of merchandise, "a right which the Zamindars even now indirectly acknowledge to be in the government, for these collections are made under the denomination of Circar Customs and are distinct from those which they claim as their Zamindari fees". Yet they warmly asserted their right to these customs on the principle of continued enjoyment and as the last resource pleaded that they constitute a considerable part of their revenues. But this plea of theirs was, in the opinion of the Council, fallacious. For one thing, more than half of the trade in the Sarkars was allowed to pass duty free, simply because the zamindars were afraid of offending the Company's servants at the different factories in the Sarkars. If only the other half of the trade in the Sarkars was freed from these heavy collections the ultimate net increase of revenue would be at least a lakh of rupees every year clear of all deductions.

The Masulipatam Council proposed the establishment of a general quit-rent upon every house-holder in the Sarkars. They pointed out that already merchants, weavers and 'mechanics' (artisans) pay to the zamindars a tax more or less resembling a quit-rent. Even though the husbandmen were so far exempt from it, they would be only too willing to pay this to the Company in exchange for their freedom from the "arbitrary rule of the Zamindars" and a closer protection of their rights. "The husbandmen in the Circars are, for the most part, proprietors by hereditary succession for many generations of the land they cultivate and are even now considered by the Zamindars as rightful holders of these lands, but however secure their tenure may appear from this, on examination it will be found so precarious as scarcely to deserve the name". The establishment of a general quit-rent preceded by a definition of the rights of the

husbandmen would, they argued, considerably add to the Company's revenues.

As a final method of improving the revenues, they suggested an excise on beetle, tobacco and *arrak* produced or manufactured and retailed throughout the Sarkars. In support of their sanguine hopes of a considerable revenue from them, they quoted the fact that the licensing fees for the sale of *arrak* in the Pettah (Indian quarter) of Masulipatam alone produced an annual revenue of Rs. 11,000. Concluding their arguments, the Masulipatam Council observed that, on a comparative view, the income from all these sources would at least add fifty per cent to the current revenues from the Sarkars.

The Madras government were extremely reluctant to adopt the recommendations of Masulipatam in their entirety.¹ They opined that in proposing these sweeping changes the subordinate settlement has not paid "proper attention to the rights and privileges of the Zamindars in preserving which the honor of the Company has been pledged in frequent declarations and particularly in the articles of agreement concluded with the Zamindars in 1766" by General Caillaud at the conference convened at Ellore.²

The government were not at all satisfied with the argument that the zamindars had assumed military authority only during the anarchy that had followed the death of Nizam-ul Mulk. On the other hand, it was "always understood that even in the times before the Mahomedans conquered India, Zamindars held their authority on a military tenure, not differing in any material from the feudal system in Europe when in its full vigour". The zamindars only paid a quit-rent to the government and "maintained a body of troops proportionable to the lands which they occupied". Further, "we also acknowledge a power in the Zamindars to keep up a military force since it is stipulated in the first article of the agreement of 1766". As such, "we do not see how we can in justice oblige them to relinquish it". But since the Company's military forces were adequate to defend this country and the zamindari *sibbandies* could only eat up the revenues therefrom, they directed the Chief of Masulipatam to use every argument "to induce (the zamindars) to disband or lessen the number of their troops and that they be released from the engagement by which they are bound to afford military aid to the government, but further we do not think we can go without a reflection upon our justice and public faith".

¹ Resolution of the Madras government in *Pub. Cons.* 26 November 1773, Vol. 36. pp, 782-89.

² For this important agreement on which the rights of the zamindars mostly depend, see Appendix C to this thesis,

With respect to the right to collect duties the government maintained that the zamindars had passed it for quite a long time. That it had existed in 1749 they were clearly convinced. They quoted the findings of the investigation they had undertaken to determine the validity of the French claim to exemption from duty for all the articles of trade which they had been handling in the Sarkars.¹ They further recalled the findings of Sir Robert Harland who was specially deputed from England to settle the disputes between the two nations. Commenting on this the government wrote home that the French "were sometimes excused in consideration of presents to the Zamindars, but the right of exacting duties does not appear ever to have been disputed and the custom of giving presents, in which all the Zamindars agree, is clearly an acknowledgment of that right".² If ever the zamindars allowed *sahukars* and other traders to pass goods duty free it was only in consideration of such presents.

The government recognised that the zamindars had a determinate right to collect what was generally known as *juncan*.³ This was evident from the implications of the clause in Caillaud's agreement with them which provided a free passage for the military stores of the Company. But, they confessed that they were not clear as to the distinction between *juncan* and the Sarkar (government) duties. More complicated was the issue, how far the zamindars had unlawfully appropriated to themselves and at what periods, if any, duties on several articles which they now claimed as part of their legitimate revenues. This was a subject which they were willing carefully to investigate into and determine upon at a more convenient time. Still they were determined to improvise methods which would answer the ultimate purpose in view. "For altho' we are of opinion that the government may not lawfully take the collection of duties out of the hands of the Zamindars, yet they may (the government) with propriety, establish rules and raise or lower them as they shall think necessary".⁴

With regard to the imposition of excise duties the government were not clear "how far such taxes may affect the interest and privileges of the Zamindars or be burthensome to the inhabitants". They demonstrated the calculations of the Chief and Council at Masulipatam regarding the probable increase of revenues from this imposition to be wrong. The quantities of *arrak* and beetle

1 For a discussion on the French claims see: *Pub. Cons.* 18 July, 1768. Vol. 27. pp. 542-43; *idem.* 5 February 1773 Vol. 35. p. 74.

2 *Madras Letters Received*; 29 January 1773, (Du Pre) paras. 23-27 Vol. VI

3 Corruption for the Sanskrit *sumkam*, meaning a tax.

4 Resolution of the Madras government in *Pub. Cons.* 26 November, 1773, Vol. 36, pp. 782-89.

consumed in the Sarkars were "very trifling". Hence, no rule of three could be applied on the basis of the *arrak* revenue of the *pettah* of Masulipatam to the general prospective revenues to be expected from an excise duty on them. They conceded that tobacco was grown in the Sarkars in plenty, "but, as the Zamindars receive a high rent or duty upon the growth, ...another duty upon its being carried through the country as an article of trade (might altogether) discourage the cultivation of it, in which case the interest of the Zamindar must materially suffer".¹

They also disapproved of the imposition of a quit-rent upon the husbandmen. They observed: "We apprehend a tax of this kind, supposing we have a right to levy it, might bear too hard upon the people in general, who are already to labour under as many difficulties as their condition will admit of. We think, therefore, that it would be more eligible to relieve than to increase it by a fresh imposition which might indeed, for the present, produce some addition to the revenue, but in its consequence would probably tend to depopulate the country and considerably affect the interest of the Company and the Zamindars".²

From the preceding discussion of zamindari rights and the possible modes of increasing the Company's revenues, it will be clear that some of the most important changes in the revenue administration of the Sarkars, consistently advocated and systematically carried through at a later date, were forestalled and discussed with admirable thoroughness. Such was the thorny nature of these issues that no placing in juxtaposition of the arguments of the Masulipatam Council and the objections of the government would lead us to any clear grasp of the subject. Both of them were wrong in assuming certain premises of their arguments. But, the merits of this discussion lie in the remarkable manner in which the government was able to lay its hands upon certain abuses in the administration of revenue. It is admitted on all hands that if the Company were to establish a stable government and introduce uniformity and equity into its administration of the Sarkars it could best achieve its ends by reducing the zamindars to greater dependance on itself. The ring-fence of a chain of duties in each zamindari was harmful to trade and industry, and until uncertainty and the prevailing confusion were removed and uniformity and moderation of tax-collection established, no security in the country could be established.

But the governments were as yet unwilling to undertake any risks. At best they were only superficially acquainted with internal conditions in the Sarkars and were totally unprepared for any ambitious

1. *Ibid.*

2. Resolution of the Madras government in *Pub. Cons.* 26 November, 1773 Vol. 34, pp. 782-89.

scheme of reforms such as was suggested by Whitehill's Council at Masulipatam. Their first duty, if at all possible of fulfilment, was to protect the rights of the inhabitants. Next, they would do well to conciliate the zamindars and continue them in their customary rights. Since it was admitted that "the Company now receive a high tribute from the Circars dependent upon Masulipatam," any changes introduced with a view to effecting an increase therein would "be considered oppressive or encroaching upon the acknowledged rights and privileges of the Zamindars" by which "the faith and honor of the Company would be severely wounded and the Zamindars themselves readily embrace the first opportunity of shaking off their subjection to our authority".¹

Consequently, they confirmed the zamindars in the rights enjoyed by them prior to 1766 and declared that any changes introduced "either now or at any future period" could only be through their agency. They directed the Chief of Masulipatam to assist them in the uniform collection of the established duties and prevent imposition and knavery on the part of revenue underlings.²

This attitude of the Madras government at once lifted the administration of the revenue affairs from the sphere of controversy and expediency to that of patient investigation and thus prepared the ground in part for the work of later Committee of Circuit. In this connection it must be admitted that Wynch's administration was public-spirited and progressive in their views and steadied any exuberant impulses in the Court of Directors to give full scope to a policy of complete commercialisation of their affairs in India.

In the light of the above discussions, the government decided to conduct a fresh settlement of the three middle Sarkars for another period of three years. They directed Whitehill to

Fresh triennial proceed to Rajahmundry with as many assistants as settlement 1773-74 he deemed necessary and re-establish individual con-
to 1776-77; tacts with the zamindars and settle the *jamabandi*.²

In the provision for assistants the Madras government only initiated the general practice of a later date which the collectors of the present-day districts still observe.

The extreme severity of the prevailing drought in the Sarkars rendered Whitehill's task arduous. While continuing the previous rates

1. Resolution of the Madras Government in *Pub. Cons.* 26 November 1773, Vol. 36. pp. 782-89.

See also *Madras Letters Received*. 5 February, 1774 (Wynch) Paras 61-69 Vol. VII.

2. *Masulipatam to Madras*. 31 December, 1774. No. 7 for 1774. *Pub. Cons.* 7 January 1774, and resolution of the government thereon, Vol. 37. pp. 19-26.

3. *Idem* 8 October, 1773, Vol. 36, pp. 747-48.

of *jamabandi*, he prevailed upon the zamindars to surrender to the Company a fifty per cent share in their land customs. Only the zamindars of Kota, Ramachandrapuram and Mailavaram were the exceptions to this surrender since their losses from the adverse seasonal conditions were more extensive than those of their neighbours.¹

Whitehill's settlement was marred by an unpleasant incident in Polavaram. On the death of Venkataramala Deva, the raja, the claims of Lakshminarayana Deva, raja of Gutala, as his rightful heir were admitted. But the people of Polavaram were unwilling to accept the candidature of the latter. On the other hand, Disturbances in Polavaram. they pressed for the adoption of Lakshminarayana Deva's son by the widow of Venkataramala Deva and obtained it after a series of complicated negotiations. But the custody of the minor son was the bone of contention between the people of these two zamindaries who seemed to have entertained exaggerated notions of its importance. This tension of feelings resulted in the organised plunder of Polavaram by the adherents of Lakshminarayana Deva. But the Masulipatam Council had not much difficulty in chastising Lakshminarayana Deva and entrusting the child to the care of the widow of Venkataramala Deva. This unhappy incident provoked the Madras government to a definition of their views towards zamindari succession. They resolved that "the company alone assert the right of judging and terminating any disputes which may arise amongst them, and that we shall not fail to make examples of such persons as shall, in defiance of this authority take up arms to decide their own quarrels or disturb the peace of the country under any pretence whatever"²

The failure of the Vizagapatam farms and the heaviness of zamindari balances and renters' dues throughout the Sarkars was the occasion of an inquiry into their causes and the adoption of remedial measures. The government found out that the subordinate settlements were unable to exercise vigorous control for the want of any standing rules of administration. To prevent this and to enforce uniformity throughout their possessions they formulated a regulation, the first of its kind at Madras in the XVIII century. It ran as follows:

"Whenever the stated payments to be made by any zamindar or renter becomes due, the Chief and Council are immediately to demand it; or, if they think it necessary, they may allow him the space of one month to discharge it. But if it be not paid within that time, they are then to acquaint us and to give us the reasons assign'd by such

1. *Whitehill to Madras Rajahmundry*, 11 February 1774. No. 34. *Pub. Cons.*, 22 February, and the resolution thereon, Vol. 37. pp. 134—37.

2. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 29 October 1773. No. 119, *Pub. Cons.*, 5 November and the resolution of the government thereon, Vol. 36 pp 759—62.

zamindar or renter for his backwardness, with their opinions upon them. And such other lights as may enable us to judge clearly upon the subject".¹

Whitehill made steady progress with the realisation of the various kists due from the zamindars.² In view of the above noted regulation of the government he gave sufficient time for payments to be made. But the affairs of the Char Mahal and Pethaparam offered him considerable difficulties. Both these zamindari-
The Char Mahal
and Pithapuram
experiments

less in a state of bankruptcy and offered little prospects of freeing themselves from their revenue embarrassments. To make sure of the current revenues Whitehill pursued a novel method. Tirupati Razu raja of Mugalaturru, was granted the management of the Char Mahal for a period of seven years (1774—1780.) He agreed to pay Company's *jamabandi* year by year "whatever it might be", and pay into the Masulipatam treasury a sum of M. Ps. 2,225 every year for the maintenance of the zamindar's family. He was at liberty to recover from the country any debts due to him from the latter and to take a reasonable profit for the risk and trouble of the management.

A similar agreement was reached between Jagapati Razu, raja of Peddapuram and the Company for the management of Pithapuram which was granted to him for a period of eleven years. An allowance of M. Ps. 4,000 a year was set apart for the support of the Rao family of Pithapuram. In justification of this arrangement, Whitehill observed that it was "best calculated for securing the Company's Jamabundy, discharging Juggapettyrauze's debt and relieving the family of their present embarrassment in this favourable time of a minority". The settlement of the Pithapuram affairs was only secured by a show of military pressure.³ The Madras government were not at all enthusiastic about these two arrangements. The long period of time involved was their objection. They even wished that "any other method could have been fallen upon for satisfying them and at the same time providing for the payment of the Company's money". Still unable to see any alternative, they confirmed Whitehill's arrangements. Jagapati Razu agreed to pay the expenses of the detachment sent to assist his management of the Pithapuram zamindari.⁴

Again in the case of the zamindari-
Gutala, Polavaram,
Chintalapudi, Zumalavai, Medur Gattu and Telikancharla, which were

1. *Idem.* 26 November, *idem.* p. 775.

2. *Whitehill to Madras*, Rajahmundry, 13 April, 1774. No. 78. *idem.* 29 April, Vol. 222. pp. 279-92.

3. *Whitehill to Madras*, Rajahmundry, 13 April 1773. No. 78. *Pub. Cons.* 29 April, Vol. 87. pp. 279-92.

4. Resolution of the Madras Government, Vol. 37. pp. 292-95.

greatly distressed, Whitehill accepted Tirupati Razu's security for the payment of the Company's *jamabandi*¹ and gave him "a superintending power" over these districts.

In all these measures, Whitehill was only repeating the experiments which were being made in consolidating the power of Sitarama Razu over the hill-rajahs of the Chicacole Sarkar. Expediency and prospective revenue stability were the reasons which Defects of these experiments produced Whitehill's determination. But he does not seem to have possessed any broad enough vision to perceive the possibility of future complications.

For one thing, no self-respecting zamindar of the times and his more or less turbulent adherents would be willing to remain quite under the tutelage of a neighbouring raja. According to the accepted beliefs of the XVIII century, all rajahs belonged to ancient families, possessing equal rights and entitled to equal respect notwithstanding any disparity in the extent of their zamindari. The super-imposition of the authority of one zamindar over another could at best only end in trouble as the people of Pithapuram clearly demonstrated a few years later to the great peril of the life of Whitehill himself.

Secondly, to tax the capacity of a single zamindar with a variety of interests and responsibilities could only create top heaviness in the management of his revenue business and react upon the efficient administration of the districts entrusted to his charge. Actually Tirupati Razu's affairs were involved in great difficulties within only a short space of time and at one time he actually offered to sacrifice the interests of his own patrimony to discharge his debts to the Company.

Lastly, Whitehill and the government of Madras were unable to recognise the necessity of remissions in the case of really deserving zamindars. At this time, the Company's government was gradually being cleared from an atmosphere surcharged with commercial militarism to that of a more reasoned administration. An earnest of the new conciliatory spirit was offered to the zamindars, but if only a well-timed scheme of remissions had been added to it, many of the later troubles connected with revenue affairs would have been eliminated.

THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF CIRCUIT.

The Regulating Act of 1773 was responsible for a marked change in the conduct of the administration of the affairs of the East India

1. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 16 June. No. 121 *Pub. Cons.* 27 June, Vol. 38, pp. 416-18.

Company. It made it obligatory on the part the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay to lay before the authorities at home a detailed analysis of their respective revenues. Not long after the receipt of orders from the Court of Directors, Madras government resolved¹ that "it appears that some inconveniences have arisen from blending.....(the business of revenue) with other proceedings of the Civil Department, that connection being frequently broken and interrupted, it is often necessary before a subject can be thoroughly understood, to make a great number of references which not only create trouble and loss of time, but it sometimes happens, notwithstanding the greatest care, that many little circumstances escape notice, and occasion omission which might be easily prevented by a more regular and connected method of conducting business". It was further resolved that the revenue business be conducted by a 'Board of Revenue'² and the Proceedings be entitled 'Proceedings of the Board of Revenue'. To facilitate the smooth and efficient working of this scheme a Committee of Four was elected by ballot and appointed to meet once a month or oftener to conduct the business of this department and to maintain an 'Account Current Book'³ in order that the amounts of balances arising out of the transactions between the Company on the one hand and the zamindars and the renters on the other might be clearly exhibited. Henceforward, a continuity of policy and thoroughness of revenue administration with the attendant benefits to the renters and cultivators such as were so far unknown were to be expected.

The efforts of the government were at this stage beset with great difficulties. With a view to clear the ground for the Committee of Four, they reviewed the existing position of revenue affairs in the Northern Sarkars.⁴ The Company's possessions comprising lands 'held by them in absolute right' were found to consist of the *haveli* lands, approximating to a certain extent, to the ancient royal demesne and of zamindari lands held by individuals, with varying rights and status. In both these cases the Company entered into agreements with them on a mixed tributary and lease basis and as such no direct contact between the former and actual cultivators was possible. The zamindars were found to be a puzzling type. Some of them were

1. *Rev. Cons.* 18 August, 1774. Vol. 17. p. 1.

2. This Board must not be confused with the Board of Revenue as such created on 1 August 1786 during the administration of Sir Archibald Campbell.

3. *Idem.* 26 August, p. 5.

4. Vol. 17. pp. 5-25.

'hereditary landowners', tracing their origin to comparatively remote periods. Others were self-created territorial proprietors who came into existence during the troublous times that followed the break of the Bahamani Kingdom and the Mughal Empire. But both these classes were equally obstinate and "often refused obedience until compelled by force" which at times resulted in their expulsion from their zamindaries. "The government found the attachment of the people to the Zamindars so strong that they could seldom collect any part of the revenues and in general they rather chose to give the lands to one of the family than to annex them to the Crown". Forcible occupation were never contemplated. All that was done was to 'secure a reasonable tribute' settled with the individual zamindars and the renters in general. The system of leases, generally for periods of three or five years, more often the former, was found convenient. A principle of graduation of annual payments in the ascending order was unconsciously adopted, and the 'medium'¹ was generally recognised as the standard for revenue transactions. This system, presumably, worked smoothly as far as it obtained, in as much as the lower initial payment was capable of being augmented considerably by the time the leases expired, on account of the possibility of an increased attention to and grasp of detail by the contracting parties of the agricultural conditions. This feature led to the unavoidable presence of balances outstanding in the Company's accounts, while the principle of continuity of management as seen in the convenient re-appointment of a renter was gradually instituted. The tentative arrangements recognising Hussain Ali Khan as the chief renter of the Company's southern possessions and allowing Sitarama Razu to mediate for the revenues of the Chicacole zamindars were given up, and "the Board"² thought it expedient to try the mode of settling with the Zamindars without the intervention of a renter, and the experiment succeeded beyond all expectations".

Paucity of material, in spite of the accounts of the subordinate settlements, hampered the activities of the Company "to prevent the people from being oppressed and to secure to them all their just rights and privileges, for industry is the natural effect of security". To obviate this difficulty, the duties of the Committee of Four were clearly defined. They were to meet as frequently as occasion demanded. Something like agricultural census was to be attempted. The Committee was directed to ascertain the value of the lands, their

1. The medium finds its parallel in Akbar's *mahsûl*. See the present writer's brochure, *Mughal Land Revenue System*, pp. 25. The Basheer Muslim Library, Woking, England 1929.

2. The Board here referred to is the Madras Council which was customarily called by that name.

capacity for improvement, the mode of division of crops and the realisation of the assessment. They were to "draw out an account of the several divisions of the home farms",¹ specifying the chief towns and villages dependent on the various *cusbas* or chiefships, the number of houses, the nature of the soil, whether watered by tanks or *pikotas*,² the number of tanks and water courses, the expenses required to put them into proper condition, the prospective advantages to be derived from such constructive undertakings the proportion of cultivated to uncultivated land, and the like. Likewise was an industrial census enjoined with a view to facilitate the commercial activities of the Company. Further, the Committee were asked to make a historical inquiry into the position of the *srotiam* and *inam* lands. A minute investigation was cautiously avoided, but the Chiefs and Councils of the subordinate settlements were instructed to furnish detailed accounts-current of revenue, with their views on the probable effects of a fragmentation of individual holdings under the management of renters from whose 'want of responsibility' the Company 'frequently suffered'. Particular emphasis was laid upon the independent 'further enquiries' of the Company's servants in supplying this information explanatory to the accounts of the *sheristadars*, *mujumdars*, *deshmukhs* and the *deshpandyas*. All this was anticipatory of the terms of reference to the Committee of Circuit which was appointed a year later.

This Committee submitted its first report on 1 December 1774, which dealt with the accounts-current of the various districts belonging to the Company.³ After carefully comparing their information with the oral and written evidence and accounts of Reports of the Com- the zamindars and renters, the Committee dilated mittee of Revenue upon the imperfections in the dealings of various subordinate Chiefs and Councils with the farms of revenue in general. Extracts from this report were sent to the chiefships concerned for their explanation. This may be regarded as the first instance of a system of audit of the revenue accounts fully developed at a considerably later date in the Madras Presidency.

The inquiry or rather the survey ordered by the Madras Council occasioned a certain amount of suspicion on the part of the renters as well as the cultivators. The Committee were not satisfied with the accounts supplied by the Chief and Council of Masulipatam and deemed them "insufficient to enable us to judge of their real.

1. Corresponding to the *khalsa* of the Muhammadan regime. Same as the *haveli*.

2. *Pikota* is one of the principal instruments in lift irrigation. See Maclean a. v. Vol. III. p. 682.

3. *Rev. Cons.* Vol. 17. pp. 169-177.

value", ¹ while they expressed their surprise at the fears of the inhabitants who appear to be so much interested in every kind of improvement of the lands, that we cannot conceive why an enquiry of this kind should afford them any real grounds of suspicion". ² At this stage George Mackey, a member of the government submitted a reasoned minute deprecating short leases. ³ He raised seven points dealing with the advisability of adopting a system of long leases, He would encourage the Company's servants to rent lands, bring zamindari agreements into assonance with those relating to the *haveli* lands, and synchronise both for purposes of administrative convenience. He would prohibit the acceptance of *nazars* on pain of suspension from office, and issue public advertisement in English and Telugu calling in revenue offers. He finally advocated the abolition of inland duties and recommended the appointment of a committee to circuit the Company's *jagir* ⁴ and the Northern Sarkars. All these proposals were approved with the exception of the last for which the existing conditions were deemed unpropitious ⁵ "Upon a comparative view of the affairs.....the Board observe with concern that the offers for five years fall short of the late rents upwards of 7,000 pagodas per annum, and they observe also that the offers upon the increased term of eight and ten years even do not come up to those rents". This was evidently due to the reflex effects of the stir caused by the proposed inquiry. "The offers are in general inadequate to the value of the farms" and all except three, of which one was that of an European renter, were rejected. At the same time the farms for which the proposals were rejected were to be managed "immediately on ... [the Company's] own account", until the results of the survey ordered to be conducted by Mr. Scott of the Masulipatam farms became available.

The Committee submitted its second report on 21 July 1775. ⁶ As far as the Sarkars were concerned, the findings of the Committee indicated a very unfavourable situation. Large balances were outstanding in the Company's accounts. Most of the renters and zamindars under Vizagapatam who owed them were dispossessed of their

1. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 18 April 1775. *Rev. Cons.* 3 May, Vol. 17 A pp. 162—163. Again Masulipatam wrote that on account of the intricacy and excessive tediousness of the Ellore accounts.....it would not be in our power to perfect, the enquiry you have directed". *Same to same*, 7 August, *idem*. 18 August *idem*. pp. 418.

2. *Idem*. pp. 171-172.

3. *Idem*. pp. 167-176.

4. At this period the *jagir* consisted of the lands round Madras forming part of the present Chingleput District.

5. *Rev. Cons.* 6 June, 1775. Vol. 17-A. pp. 200-218.

6. *Rev. Cons.* 21 July, Vol. 17-A. pp. 340-43.

lands. The balances under Masulipatam "appear to us very considerable and we therefore represent them to you that you may issue such orders as may appear to you necessary upon the occasion..... For the regular keeping of the books account-current of Zamindars and renters, it is necessary that it be the province of one person". The Madras Council circularised the Chiefs and Councils of Vizagapatam and Masulipatam with the above findings, while Mr. Hoissard was appointed to the charge of the accounts-current with the zamindars and renters.

The appointment of the Committee of Circuit is memorable in more ways than one. So far, matters relating to revenue were dealt with in the most casual manner possible. The subordinate chiefships conducted the revenue business at first in the public consultations and then in the military consultations and sometimes in both. It was not till 1774 that the revenue business was clearly separated from the military and commercial undertakings and a series of revenue consultations started. The appointment of the Circuit Committee resulted in accelerating this attempt for a departmental organisation of the ever-increasing volume of the revenue business and not only provided for continuity of policy but also systematised the revenue methods.

Previous to the appointment of the Circuit Committee, the Chiefs and Councils of the subordinate settlements had not access to detailed, and authentic local information necessary to give them a regular, definite and real grasp of the position of the agriculturists and the capacity of the country to yield an adequate and reasonable revenue for which there was an ever-growing demand on the part of the Company with their increased responsibility and enlarged field of activities. Small wonder that they were at the mercy of the few who understood the English language and were entitled to their confidence. It was essentially an age of *dubash* tyranny. The cases of Kandregula Jogi Pantulu, Venkatarayulu and Jaggappa on the one hand and of Bala Krishna Naidu on the other are instances in point. Next to these 'interpreters' came the select group of the landed aristocracy who had the wherewithal to parade their capacity to rent lands for a consideration. What the Company at this period wanted was an adequate security for the regular payment of the much needed revenue, and this the mixed type of landed proprietors, otherwise indifferently called zamindars, were seen to provide most often with the collateral security of *sahukar* bills. But the *dubash*, by the nature of his appointment which was often coupled with that of a renter of the Company's *haveli* lands, was a potential instrument for double-dealing and oppression, while the demonstrations of some of the prospective renters were frequently deceptive. The

latter fact may be illustrated by the enormous balances invariably remaining in the credit columns of the Company's accounts. Even the large estates, say of Vijayanagaram and Pithapuram, were not sufficient guarantees for the regular payment of the Company's dues. The period prior to this important event was essentially one of revenue speculation, both on the part of the Company's servants, and the prospective renters, in as much as neither of them had the means or the social standing sufficient to inspire confidence and obtain a specific knowledge of the condition of the husbandmen, the capacity of the land, the state of irrigational facilities, the effect of the seasons on the crops and the like, not to speak of the question of land tenures. The situation was aggravated by the fact that most of the renters were privateers possessing the Company's favour without the advantages of local knowledge. What was looked for was the assurance of an agreement for an appreciable amount of revenue reinforced by a guarantee for its punctual payment. Obviously, such a variable mode of revenue speculation could not have produced a just system of revenue assessment and collection. The orders for the appointment of the Circuit Committee were conceived to relieve the disastrous effects of such a process susceptible of modulation from year to year.

The appointment of the Circuit Committee was ordered by the Court of Directors in their dispatch of 12 April 1775.¹ It was to consist of 'a committee of our Council', meaning thereby the Madras Council which was "to acquire a complete knowledge of the territories which have been granted to the Company on the Coast of Coramandel and establish a judicious and permanent system for their future management". They were to "ascertain with all possible exactness the produce of the countries, the number of inhabitants, the state of manufactures, the fortified places, the gross amount of the revenues, the articles from which they arose, and the mode by which they are collected, charges of collection, the specific proportion usually received by the Rajah or Zamindar, and that which custom or usage has allotted to the cultivator as reward of his labour. They are particularly to enquire what security...(the latter) has for his property, what courts there are for the administration of justice and how far similar regulations to those lately established at Bengal by our President and Council there may with propriety be introduced into the Northern Circars". "The impropriety of suffering any Zamindar to become a formidable neighbour or too powerful cannot admit of a doubt...

1. *Madras Dispatches*. Vol. 6. pp. 372-98. It is, quite probable that this measure of the Court of Directors was prompted by the decision of the Madras government in appointing the Committee of Four, as there was sufficient time for the former to, receive the Madras advices announcing the same before they proceeded with the appointment of the Circuit Committee.

In order to enable us to strike at the root of this evil, the Committee of Circuit must take the most effectual means for ascertaining the strength of each Rajah, Zamindar or Landholder in the Circars, the expense of his household and that of his troops, the means he may have of defraying such expenses, and the number of regular troops which it will be necessary for us to maintain in the respective districts in order to keep them in due subjection... (to maintain which the tribute remitted to our treasury at Fort St. George be nevertheless considerably increased. We are therefore resolved that every military man in the Circars shall be absolutely under our own command, obliged to serve us whenever he may be wanted". If any of the zamindars relinquish their hereditary claims, we have no objection to allow them such stipends as shall be found reasonable in lieu of the benefits arising from their Zamindaries. "It is by no means our wish to deprive the hereditary Rajahs or Zamindars of their annual incomes; on the contrary, we mean to secure it to them without the necessity of keeping up an armed force to compel payment thereof and it is our earnest desire to deliver the inhabitants, so far as may be in our power, from undue exaction and oppression". Finally, the Committee were to lease out the lands for a period of years, at their own discretion, on the expiry of the existing agreements.

The unfortunate administration of Lord Pigot, which resulted in his ultimate imprisonment by the majority of the Madras Council, impeded the immediate appointment of the Circuit Committee so definitely insisted upon by the Court of Directors. Notwithstanding the spirited protest of Sir Robert Fletcher,¹ the obstinacy of Lord Pigot who pleaded the urgency of the Tanjore affairs and the impossibility of sparing senior servants to serve on the Committee, protracted the quarrels among the members of the Madras Council to a disproportionate extent. During the course of this unfortunate affairs,² Francis Jourdon, a senior member of the Council who saw service to the northward, minuted:³ "I know of no other circumstance in the present situation of our affairs that can justify longer delay in carrying on these orders of the Company for the Circuit into execution; on the contrary, the rents of the farms are continued for one year and the

1. *Rev. Cons.*, 28 June, 1776. Vol. 18. p. 162.

2. See *idem.* 26 July, and 1, 2 August, 5 and 9 August *idem.* pp. 180-82; 206 213; 217-218; 223-26; and 257-68 respectively. For a vivid narrative of Lord Pigot's career, See Love : *Vestiges* III. pp. 84-122. For a narrative of the personal animosities between the members of the Madras Council see *Lord Pigot's Narrative of the late Revolution in the Government of Madras*, with marginal notes by Alexander Dalrymple, India Office Library, No. 4. p. 20.

3. *Rev. Cons.*, 26 July, Vol. 18, pp. 180-82.

mode tends evidently to distress the inhabitants in those districts. The Zamindars likewise must be managed in the same manner. The Zamindars will be discouraged from improvement in the apprehension of an increase of tribute and this mode, injurious as it may be, cannot be altered until the Committee obtain full and perfect information of the real value of the lands. The Circars are capable of great improvements...These are the objects of government (*sic*) and which if well attended to will give confidence, wealth and happiness to the people and increase the revenues of the government and, these are the objects entrusted to the care of the Committee." Spurred to action by this spirited minute, the majority in Council, ¹ appointed the Committee of Circuit on 11th October 1776. ² consisting of Samuel Johnson, Charles Floyer, John Holland, Peter Perring and Quintin Craufurd, the Committee were ordered to investigate in the first instance the revenues of the Chicacole *pargana*. ³

Early in the period of the disagreement between the members of the Madras Council, attempts had been made to define the scope of the work of the Circuit Committee on the basis of the instructions of the Court of Directors. Alexander Dalrymple, the future author of the *Oriental Reportory*, then a member of the Council, prepared an elaborate list of the duties of, and the procedure to be adopted by the Committee.⁴ His clear enunciation of the *modus operandi* to be profitably adopted, which consisted of the detailing of individual members of the Committee assisted by junior servants to localise their investigations in the different parts of the Sarkars and after collating their work in Committee to proceed with the leasing out of the lands, did not evoke the consideration it merited. Lord Pigot was suspended on 25 August 1776 and instructions were issued to the Circuit Committee on 31 October,⁵ under the signature of George Stratton who was elected President by the majority in Council.

1. The majority minute was signed by George Stratton, Sir Thomas Fletcher, Charles Floyer, Henry Brooke, Arohdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan and George Mackay.

. *Madras to Vizagapatam*. 11 October, Vol. 18. p. 356.

3. The committee originally named by the Court of Directors consisted of George Dawson, Claud Russel, Alexander Dalrymple, Samuel Johnson and George Mackey. See *Madras Dispatches* (Revenue) 12 April 1775, para 35. Vol. 6. p. 397. But owing to official and personal difficulties, the original Committee as such could not proceed as a body. It is significant to note that the appointment of junior servants was mostly disastrous. Almost all of them were found guilty of peculation during later investigations. It is equally conspicuous to note that the members of the original Committee were exactly of the opposite character.

. *Rev. Cons*, 29 July, Vol. 18, pp. 191 ff.

Madras to Circuit Committee, 31 October, *idem*, pp. 375—82.

Put briefly, the Circuit Committee were ordered to investigate the best possible way of increasing the Company's revenues ¹. To supply authentic and detailed information about the state of existing affairs was a secondary charge. Not a single point was missed. From examination of the position of the formidable military strength of the Raja of Vijayanagaram to an enquiry into the necessity of building a residence for the Paymaster of Aska,—such was the scope of their activities. A certain latitude of action was granted to them and they were urged to conduct the inquiry "in the most expeditious and effectual manner possible". All the records of the Company's subordinate settlements were put at their disposal, and the persons employed in the survey of the lands were detailed to assist them in every way.

The Committee were asked to examine into the validity of the claims for an abatement of revenue by Jagannadha Razu and Jagga-bandhu Chaudhari, rents of the Company's *haveli* lands in the Chicacole and Ichchapur *parganas* respectively and by Sitarama Razu, *diwan* to and elder brother of the Raja of Vijayanagaram. They were further to report on the advisability of converting the smaller and heavily encumbered zamindari into the Company's *haveli* with suitable *jagirs* provided for the maintenance of the sequestered zamindari families. But "we do not mean upon any account to take away from the Zamindars their hereditary rights". Means were to be recommended for reducing the price of salt. Octroi and other zamindari duties which was harmful to industry and commerce were to be minutely investigated into with a view to their total abolition, as well as the validity of the innumerable grants for lands in the possession of cultivators which exempted them from paying rent to the Company in one way or another. This practically amounted to an historical inquiry into the question of land tenures. Finally, the instructions were rounded off with the following remarkable passage: ² "The increase of cultivation and of population, the increase of the wealth of individuals and of revenue to government are so connected with each other, that in the investigation entrusted to you, every day will throw new light upon the information of the preceding day. We rely upon the exertion of your endeavours in the execution of this important business, and we shall therefore only add that much will depend on impressing the minds of the people with confidence in our government and securing to the industrious the produce of their labour."

1. For a clear account of the duties of the Circuit Committee see *Madras Letters Received (Revenue)* 14 October 1775 (Wynch) Vol. 7. Complaining of the chaotic condition of the revenue affairs in the Sirkars, to rectify which the Circuit Committee were appointed. Madras wrote home: "The rights of the Government have been sacrificed and the privileges of the inhabitants violently encroached upon". *Idem.* para. 5.

². Para 21 of the instructions.

The appointment of the Circuit Committee did not immediately secure the avowed objects of the majority of the Council which shortly after arrested and imprisoned Lord Pigot, as they at once proceeded to abandon the principles on which they had appeared to fight. On the recommendation of the Masulipatam Council,¹ they let the lands for a term of two years under the impression that such an act would not only allay popular apprehensions but also facilitate the Circuit Committee's work, and thus within less than a fortnight of the revolution, the policy which they so vigorously enunciated was completely reversed.

After the completion of preliminary investigations of the Vizagapatam records, the Circuit Committee requested² a copy of the report of the Bengal Committee of Circuit, which had been appointed considerably earlier,³ with a view to enquire into precedents and assess their applicability to the conditions prevailing in the Northern Sarkars. The original committee of Four still continued to function, and on 14 January 1777 they furnished a report⁴ based on a detailed analysis of the Company's revenues from the various *paraganas* of the Sarkars. This curious parallelism in the functions and investigations of the two Committees is not clearly explicable.

The Circuit Committee were compelled to plunge at once into the tangled morass of Vizianagaram politics which came to a climax at this period. The jealousies between Vizianagaram Razu, the Raja of Vizianagaram, and his aggrieved elder brother, Sitarama Razu, whose claims to the Zamindari had been overlooked, reached a point at which no orderly government of the vast tracts of land under their joint control was possible. Jagannadha Razu, the *diwan* of Vijayarama Razu and the renter of the Company's *haveli* lands in the Chicacole Circar, was imprisoned by the Vizagapatam Council for his alleged contumacy in aiding Rajanna Dora, a rebel chief in the

1. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 21 November 1776. *Rev. Cons.* 4 December, Vol. 18 pp. 430 ff. Charles Floyer who was a member of the Circuit Committee and who later became notorious for his acts of misappropriation of public revenues, was the Chief of Masulipatam at this time. See also *Madras Letters Received* (Revenue) 6 February 1777. 4 (Stratton) Vol. 8. pp. 244-45.

2. *Circuit Committee to Madras*, 20th December 1776. *idem* 31 December. *idem*. p. 495.

3. The Bengal Report was not at all supplied to the Circuit Committee. See *Report of the Circuit Committee* 10 September, 1777. para. 24. *idem*. 18 November, Vol. 19. p. 653.

4. Interim Report signed by Brooke and Jourdan dated Fort St. George 14 January 1777, *Rev. Cons.* 17 January, Vol. 19 pp. 14-17.

East Godavari District.¹ The Madras government took strong exception to this and wrote to Vizagapatam.² "As we have already recommended to the Chiefs and Councils in the Circars to keep upon the best terms possible with the several Zamindars and to maintain them in their respective rights and privileges, we are much concerned at the steps you had taken to confine Jaggernautrauze without the charge being proved against him. For being Duan to Vizeram rauze he should have been imprisoned through him for the claim laid to his charge." Viyanarama Razu protested at this obvious encroachment on his just rights and refused to proceed to Madras as was ordered by the Vizagapatam Council.³ Instead, he rescued Jagannadha Razu from the custody of the Company's troops, and not only made him a prisoner for a second time but also abetted his brother Sitarama Razu in imprisoning and torturing Jagga Rao, the Company's interpreter at Vizagapatam.⁴ Notwithstanding the protests of the Circuit Committee⁵ and the demand by the Madras government for the release of Jagannadha Razu,⁶ he put Vijayanagaram in a state of defence and collecting 25,000 troops threatened hostilities with a view openly to assert his rights⁷. He was further believed to be in league with the Marathas.⁸ The disputes between the Vizagapatam Council and Capt. Murphy, the officer commanding the Company's troops in the Chicacole Sarkar, were protracted till 19 July 1777⁹, when at the request of the former, reinforcements were sent under Capt. Collins from

1. *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 27 February, 1777. *Milit Cons.* 10 March, Vol. 83 pp. 319-28. In this Jagannadha Razu was supposed to have had the support of his erstwhile enemy Sitarama Razu. The records for this period dealing with the Vijayanagaram family seem to be very much confused. It was the same Jagannadha Razu, who was later recommended by the Circuit Committee to the Muzumdari of the Chicacole Sarkar. See, *Infra*.....

2. *Madras to Vizagapatam*. 2 May, *idem*, pp. 655-56.

3. *Vizagapatam to Madras* 17 April, *Milit Cons.* 28 April Vol. 83. p.635 and Vol. 84. p. 636.

4. *Same to same*. 30 June and 1 July. *idem*. 14 July, *idem*. pp. 996-98 and 999 respectively; see also *same to same*, 5 and 30 June, *Rev. Cons.* 17 July, Vol. 19. pp. 285-305; See further *Madras letters Received*, 18 September, 1777 (Whitehill) paras. 9-11. Vol. 8. pp. 363-65.

5. *Circuit Committee to Vijayarama Razu*, dated Chicacole 28 June, in *Circuit Committee to Madras*, 5th July. *Rev. Cons.* 1 August. Vol. 19. pp. 480-82.

6. *Madras to Vizagapatam* (military) 14 July, Vol. 84. pp. 1013-14.

7. *Vizagapatam to Madras*. 8 and 9 July. *Milit. Cons.* 21 July. *idem*. pp. 1030-32.

8. *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 8 and 9 July, *Milit Cons.* 21 July, Vol. 84 pp. 1030-32.

9. For the correspondence between the Vizagapatam Council and Capt. Murphy, over the powers of the Company's military officers in relation to those of the civil servants, see *idem*, 21 July *idem*, pp. 1033-50.

Masulipatam and Cap. Cheshyre from Ganjam.¹ Roused at last to a sense of the gravity of the situation the incapable Vijayarama Razu recalled the detachment of a thousand troops sent to the aid of Rajanna Dora, sent in *tins* for Rs. 1,22,666 and promised to pay the remaining balance to the Company in a short time. But Jagannadha Raju's life was still in danger since by this time the ascendancy of Sitarama Razu over his weakling brother was supreme. Samuel Johnson, Chief of Vizagapatam deputed Quintin Crauford, a member of his Council, and the Company's *dubash* to conclude a speedy settlement with Vijayarama Razu.² Madras condemned this proceeding as calculated "to degrade the authority of the Company"³ while the mission itself failed in that Vijayarama Razu refused to deliver Jagannadha Razu into the custody of the Company.⁴

Even though Jagannadha Razu was released almost immediately afterwards,⁵ Sir Edward Hughes was asked to provide two ships to carry troops and stores to Vizagapatam⁶ and on the minute of General Stuart the Madras Council resolved to garrison the fort of Vijayanagaram.⁷ Jagannadha Razu still remained at large,⁸ and ran the risk of being again kidnapped.⁹ Further reinforcements were ordered to Vizagapatam,¹⁰ Masulipatam was directed to defray the expenses of the expedition,¹¹ and Col. Braithwaite placed in charge of the operations,¹² Vijayarama Razu was ordered¹³

1. See correspondence in *idem*. 5 August, *idem*. pp. 1189-60.

2. *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 23 July, *idem*. 5 August, *idem*. 1160-63

3. *Madras to Vizagapatam*, 5 August, *idem*. pp. 1163-66.

4. *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 28 July, *idem*. 8 August *idem*. pp. 1172 to 86.

5. *Vizagapatam to Madras* (supplemental) 28 July, Vol. 84. p. 1186.

6. *Idem*. p. 1188.

7. He was supported by the President George Stratton, Charles Floyer and Francis Jourdan. Charles Mackay, who was former Chief of Vizagapatam, requested in vain for an inquiry into the conduct of the Vizagapatam Council and into the intrigues of a John Douglas and his *dubash* (who was recently appointed the Company *dubash* at Vizagapatam in succession to Jagga Rao) in fomenting discussions between the Vizagapatam Council and Vijayarama Razu, and thus give the Rajah an opportunity to justify his conduct. See *Milit. Cons.* 11 August, *idem*. pp. 1192 to 1204. Strangely enough, the Court of Directors, approved the conduct of General Stuart, See *Madras Dispatches* 14 April 1779. Vol. 8. pp. 868-77.

8. *Vizagapatam to Madras*. 19 July, *idem*. 11 August, Vol. 84 pp. 1209-12.

9. *Same to same* (supplemental) 29 and 31 July, *idem*. 11 August, *idem*. pp. 1212-18.

10. *Madras to Sir Edward Hughes*, 11 August *idem*. pp. 1119-20.

11. *Milit. Cons.* 12 August, *idem*. pp. 1121-22. Mackay again vainly pleaded for the postponement of aggressive measures.

12. *Madras to Vizagapatam*, 15 August, *idem*. pp. 1225-31, and instructions to Col. Braithwaite, *idem*. pp. 1231-37.

13. *Madras to Vijayarama*, *idem*. pp. 1237-44.

to remove all his effects from Vijayanagaram, to look to Madras for future instructions, to account for the "indignity and insult offered to this government and for the impediments thrown in the way of the Circuit Committee,¹ to appoint with the consent of Sitarama Razu an heir to the Zamindari, to deliver the fort of Vijayanagaram to Col. Braithwaite within twenty-four hours' notice; and, finally to proceed to Madras for a new revenue settlement. Vijayarama Razu protested in vain against his ill-treatment by the Vizagapatam Council² and surrendered on 17 August 1777³. Sitarama Razu fled from Vijayanagaram the very next day, and the Vizagapatam Council recommended his imprisonment inasmuch as his flight with his family effects constituted an act of criminality and as "his ambition could only be equalled by his avarice."⁴ Communicating the whole transaction to Warren Hastings, the Whitehill government observed⁵ that the preceding Stratton government had taken such severe steps "thinking this a favourable opportunity for reducing the increased power of Vizeramrauze which has long been an object of jealousy to the Company."

1. The Circuit Committee, strongly complained of the impediments thrown in the way of their inquiries by Vijayarama Razu, who refused them access to the village accountants. See *Circuit Committee to Madras*, 5 July, *Rev. Cons.* 1 August, Vol. 19, pp. 480-82.

2. *Vijayarama Razu to Madras in Milit Cons.* 18 August, Vol. 85, p. 1274. The Razu's letter was not dated.

3. *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 20 August, *idem.* 4 September, *idem.* pp. 1340-43, and enclosures, pp. 1344-57. A narrative of the incidents is supplied in *same to same* of 30 August, *idem.* 9 September pp. 1332-93, and the numerous enclosures which constitute Braithwaite's correspondence with the Vizagapatam council and contain copies of the *sanads* given by Vizerarama Razu to Jagannadha Razu are to be found on pp. 1394-1 27.

"In justice to Vizeramrauze", the Madras government wrote home that he formally submitted to the Chief of Vizagapatam before the arrival of the European detachments. See *Madras Letters Received*, 15 October, para 3. (Whitehill) Vol-8 pp. 432-33.

4. *Milit Cons.* 4 September, Vol. 85. pp. 1340-43.

5. *Madras to Bengal (military)* 19 September, Vol. 85. pp. 1340-43.

The Whitehill government further wrote to the Court of Directors; "Vizeramrauze's power appears long to have been an object of apprehension to this government, and his Jammabundy or tribute to the Company has on that account been rated much lower in proportion (*sic*) than that of the other zamindars. To strike at the root of this evil without forcibly dispossessing him of his lands or involving the Company in the inconveniences of a war, was an act of moderation and prudence which cannot fail of operating (*sic*) to your advantage in whatever light it is considered." *Madras Letters Received*, 19 September, 1777, para 11. Vol. 8, p. 365.

(To be continued)

THE SURAPURAM CHIEFS AND SOME SANSKRIT WRITERS PATRONISED BY THEM

APPENDIX

DR. V. RAGHAVAN

In the last issue of this journal, I dealt with the history of the chiefs of Surapuram or Shorapur and the geneology and works of a Śrīvaiṣṇava family of authors patronised by the Surapuram chiefs. I had given in that paper an analysis of a kaifit in Telugu preserved among the Mackenzie mss. called the genealogy of the chiefs of Surapuram, Surapurarājulavamsāvali.

In Mack. Mss. 15—6—43, my friend Mr. Venkataramiah informs me, we have the following information noted in the diary for August 1819 by Venkata Rao, the assistant of Mackenzie. Venkata Rao says here under date 24th Aug. 1819 that he obtained an account of the genealogy of the Surapuram chiefs from the work *Vēṅkaṭa vilāsa* which Kaviśvara Rāghavācārlu was writing upon Vēṅkaṭappa nāyaka, the then ruling chief of Surapuram. This shows us the source of the kaifit analysed in my previous article (see p. 23).

This Vēṅkaṭappa nāyaka is the 25th and last to be described in the Surapurarājulavamsāvali (see p. 29 of my previous article); he was the eldest son of Piḍināyaka and became chief in A. D. 1818, when he was thirty five years old.

The Diarist Venkata Rao also adds that for certain details about Pāmināyaka, son of Ramaṇappa nāyaka and grandson of Bahiri Pitāmbara nāyaka, he consulted verses in the works Viṣṇu purāṇa and Bhārgava purāṇa. This Pāmi referred to here has been described by me in the article on p. 27, and it is he who brought from Bukkapāṭṭanam, our authors Aṇṇayācārya and Cinnaya (Śrīnivāsācārya) for administering the Mudrā to him.

SOME MORE WORKS OF THE SURAPURAM WRITERS

Of *Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita II*, son of Śrīnivāsa Tatārya I and younger brother of Aṇṇaya II and pupil of Kaunḍinya Śrīnivāsa, and his works, I have spoken on pp. 12-14 of my previous article. He appears to have written a work named *Harimaṇi darpaṇa*, a ms. of which, is available in Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library and whose description will appear in the forthcoming Triennial Catalogue

of the Library. The author quotes his own Bhēdadarpaṇa in this work.

One of the *Veṅkaṭācāryas* of this family wrote a criticism of Gadādhara (see p. 17 of my previous article). That work may be the Gadādhariya-prāmāṇya-vāda khaṇḍana of Surapuram Veṅkaṭācārya noted on p. 102-b of part 2 of the Adyar Catalogue.

On pp. 17-18 of my previous paper, I noticed *Bucci Veṅkaṭācārya* or *Veṅkaṭācārya IV*, the third son of Aṇṇaya II and his works. This Bucci Veṅkaṭācārya IV has written a stōtra called *Indōh Aṣṭōttaraśatastōtra* (इन्द्रोः अष्टोत्तरशतस्तोत्र) of which there is a ms. in the Telugu Academy, Cocanada (ms. on 4073 (c)).

A STUDY OF THE GRANTS OF THE EARLY GĀNGAS.

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA

All the copper plate grants of the Eastern Gāngas of Kāṭṇḡa are not of the same type. Many differences are found in the drafting of these grants. These differences admit of their classification into two groups. The special features of the two groups of grants, A & B that distinguish one from the other, may be noted thus-

The 'A' group of grants

- i. Do not furnish any mythological account of the Gāṅga dynasty. They furnish only the formal *praśasti* of the Gāṅga Kings ;
- ii. Generally mention the names of the donor and his father. They rarely provide the pedigree for three generations ;
- iii. Generally do not give the date of the grant. When they do, they mention some years in *tens* and *hundreds*, in *figures* or *words*, or *in both*. The years are preceded by a particular kind of phraseology which went on developing in accordance with the increase in years. It reads as follows. "Years of the victorious reign" (*Vijaya rājya-vatsarāh*) ; "Years of the augmenting victorious reign" (*pravardhamāna vijayarājya samvatsarāh*). "Years of the Gāṅga dynasty" (*Gāṅgēya-vamśa-samvatsarāh*), "years of the augmenting victorious reign of the Gāṅga dynasty" (*Gāṅgēya-vamśa-pravardhamāna - vijayarājya-samvatsarāh*) and "Years of the augmenting victorious reign of the Gāṅga-Kadamba dynasty" (*Gāṅga-Kadamba-vamśa-pravardhamāna-vijayarājya-samvatsarāh*).

The dates in the grants so far discovered range from the Year 39 to the Year 528.¹ In between these two dates many early Gāṅga records have yet to be discovered to make the consecutive serial number complete. Scholars are of the opinion that these years refer to an *era* which commenced with the rule of the Early Gāṅgas in the Kāṭṇḡa Country and hence they call them *Years of the Gāṅga Era*. (G. E.)

- iv. Were issued by kings whose names generally end in *varman* like Indravarman, Hastivarman, Dēvāndravarmān, Anantavarman, Sāmantavarman and Rājēndravarmān etc.

1. J. B. O. R. S. XVIII, pp. 272 ff. J. A. H. R. S. VIII, 180-182

Some of the grants mention their father's names like Guṇārṇava, Kāmārṇava and Dānārṇava etc.

On the other hand, the 'B' group of grants provide

- i. The mythological account of the Gāṅga dynasty ;
- ii. A long pedigree of the Gāṅga Kings running into many generations, stating also the periods of rule of different kings ;
- iii. The date of the grant in Śaka years with adequate astronomical details for verification besides furnishing the date of the coronation of some of the kings ;
- iv. Names like Dānārṇava, Guṇārṇava, Kāmārṇava and Raṇārṇava etc in the early pedigree of the Gāṅgas prior to Anantavarman-Vajrahasta who is said to have been crowned in A. D. 1038. No names ending in *varman* are found in these grants.

Those who issued grants forming the first group are termed as the EARLY GĀNGAS while the donors of the other group of records beginning with Anantavarman-Vajrahasta are known as the LATER GĀNGAS. The reign of Vajrahasta whose coronation date is A.D. 1038 is a landmark which divides the two groups. The only common feature in both the groups is the mention of names of writers and engravers of grants, occasionally with the names of their fathers.

Since the initial year of the Gāṅga era is yet in dispute, and some of the early Gāṅga records are undated and no pedigree of the early kings is furnished by the grants, the relative positions of the early Gāṅga kings in their genealogical and chronological schemes have yet to be settled. An attempt is here made to settle these points from internal evidence furnished by the grants themselves, that is, mainly with the help of the *prāśasti* or the formal preamble, of the names of the writers and engravers of grants and of the years in and terminology of the Gāṅga era.

The first king is Indravarman who had the title *Tri-Kaṭiṅga-ādhipati* (lord of Tri-Kaṭiṅga). His Jirjingi plates are dated in the 39th year of the Gāṅga era.¹

The next grant till now known after the Jirjingi plates of Indravarman is the Narasingapalli plates² of Hastivarman, dated in 79 G. E.

Very recently I was able to secure another Early Gāṅga record a grant of king Samantavarman who issued it from *Saumya-vana* in the year 64, presumably of the Gāṅga era.

1. *Ep. Ind.* XXV, pp. 281 ff; *J. A. H. R. S.*, III pp. 49 ff.

2. *Ep. Ind.* XXIII, pp. 62 ff; *Bhārati*,

Considerable difference can be noted in the *prāśasti* recorded in the first three Gāṅga grants of Indravarman, Śāmantavarman and Hastivarman respectively. For easy reference I give below the *prāśasti* recorded in the grants of both Indravarman and Śāmantavarman.

Indravarman's grant :—

‘अमरपुरप्रतिस्पर्द्धी श्रीमद्वन्तपुराङ्गवतस्सकलभुवनतलोत्पत्तिस्थितिप्रलयहेतोः परमेश्वरस्य सततप्रणामावाप्तपुण्य सञ्जयप्रभावनिस्ताशेषदुरितो गांगामलकुलगगनतलसहस्ररस्मिः अनेकचातुर्दन्तसमारविजयविमलविकीर्णनिर्विश्व धारासाम्राज्यन्तसकलसामन्तनृपतिमण्डलाधिपतिमकुटनिहितरश्मिरपद्मरागप्रभाप्रसेकपरिध्वर्गपीङ्गोङ्कितचरणयुगलः ; अतुल्यलसुन्दरयावासविपुलविभवसम्पल्लतामण्डपच्छायाविश्रान्तसुहृत्साधुबान्धवार्थजनः ; मातापितृपादानुश्रयात् कलिगाधिपति श्रीमहाराजेन्द्रवर्मा ...’

Śāmantavarman's grant :—

‘जयश्रीनिवाससौम्यवना चराचरगुरोरशकलशशङ्कशेखरधरस्य जगतः स्थित्युत्पत्तिप्रलयहेतोर्महेन्द्राचलशिखर वरनिवासिनो गोकर्णस्वामिनः सततप्रणामपरिचर्यादिभिः निर्द्वौतकाल्यदोषो गांगामलकुलगगनतलसहस्ररस्मिः ; स्वामिधारापत्तिस्पन्दधिगतराजशब्दस्त्रिकलिगाधिपतिः श्रीमहाराज महासामन्तवर्मा ...’

The difference in the *prāśasti* given above is apparent and no comment is needed here. However there is one important factor to be noted, and that is the title, *Tri-Kaṭiṅgādhipati*. Of all the Early Gāṅga kings only Indravarman and Śāmantavarman had the title *Tri-Kaṭiṅgādhipati* (lord of Tri-Kaṭiṅga). If it were not an empty and meaningless boast, its omission in the charters of the successors of Śāmantavarman on the throne of Kaṭiṅga, might probably be due to political reversals they had sustained at the hands of their neighbouring powers.

From the time of Hastivarman, the third king of the dynasty the *prāśasti* in the Gāṅga grants attained a sort of standardisation since his successors who ruled from either Kaṭiṅganagara or Dantapura¹ took his grants as models in drafting their own charters and adopted in them the preamble recorded in his Narasingapalli and Urlām plates.

A study of the *prāśasti* recorded in the charters of Hastivarman's successors reveals the fact that further phrases and clauses denoting their regal glory, grandeur and prowess were added on to it in the course of centuries of their rule in Kaṭiṅga as they became more

1. According to the reading given by Mr. M. Narasimham it is *Dantipura*—not *Dantapura* in the plates dated 500 A. D., of Vajrahasta, son of Kāmārṇava,

and more powerful and their kingdom increased in extent and prosperity, so much so the preamble recorded in the late charters of the Early Gāṅga kings which grew lengthier and lengthier than in the early ones with high-sounding epithets and grand phrases and clauses, bears testimony to its slow but steady process of evolution and development.

Let us, now, proceed to examine the *prāśasti* of the Early Gāṅgas in their charters, taking the formal preamble in Hastivarman's grants¹ as the basis.

Three important factors are alluded to in the grants of Hastivarman, namely, (i) about the capital city of the Early Gāṅgas, (ii) about their tutelary deity, Gōkarnasvāmin and (iii) about their own valour and glory. The phraseology in the formal preamble of the Early Gāṅga charters is developed round these three fundamental factors.

For noting the gradual process of development in phrases relating to these three factors, the formal preamble (lines 1 to 8) of Hastivarman's record should be before us. It runs as follows:—

ओं स्वास्ति ॥ सर्वतुर्मणीया द्विजयकलिङ्गनगरा त्सकलभुवननिर्माणौकसूत्रवारस्य
भगवतो गोकर्णस्वामिनश्चरणकमलयुगलप्रणामादपगतकलिकलङ्का
विनयनयसम्पदामाधारः स्वासिधारापरिरपन्दाधिगत सकलकलिङ्गाधिराज्य
श्वतुरुदधितरङ्गमेखलावनील प्रविततामलयशः अनेकसमरसंक्षोभजनितजयशब्दो गाङ्गामलकुलप्रतिष्ठः
प्रतोपातिशयानमितसमस्तसामन्तचूडामणिप्रभामन्त्ररापुञ्जराजितचरणो मातापितृपादानुध्यातः
परममाहेश्वरः श्रीमहाराजो हस्तिवर्मा

This *prāśasti* is found recorded in the grants² of Indravarman of 87, 87, and 91 years G.E., without any deviation anywhere.

Subsequent to 91 G.E., fresh phrases were added to the 'preamble.' The chief seat of the Gāṅgas attained the dignity of a *vāsaka*; for example *Kaṭṅganagara-vāsakū*; *Dantipura vāsakāt*. The patron deity of the Gāṅgas, God Gōkarnasvāmin, 'the sole architect of the construction of the whole world' (*sakalabhuvana-nirmāṇaika-sūtradhārah*) has now become firmly "established on the holy summit of the Mahēndra mountain" (*Mahēndrācalāmala-śikhara-pratiṣṭhāh*) and become "the preceptor of (all) things, movable and immovable" (*Sakala carācaragurōh*). The mere "establishers of the pure Gāṅga dynasty (*Gāṅgā-malakula-pratiṣṭhah*) now became its ornaments (*Gāṅgām alakula-tilakah*). *Caturudadhitaraṅga* has now developed into *pravitata-caturudadhi*

1. *Ep., Ind.*, XVII, pp. 330 ff.

2. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 127 ff., *J. A. H. R. S.*, IV, pp. 21 ff; *Ind Ant.*, VI, pp. 131 ff.

salila-taraṅga, and *anēka-samara-samkṣhēbha-janita* has transformed into *anēka-samara-samghaṭṭa-vijaya-janita*. These developments are seen in the preamble in the records¹ of Indravarman of the years 128, 137, and 154 of the Gāṅga era. It must, however, be pointed out here that the first two of these records do not contain the passage "a receptacle of modesty and wealth" "(*vinaya-śampadām-ādihārah*"). The omission need not worry us. The development in the phraseology of the *prāśasti* has to be determined by taking into account only the terms that are once added to the basic *prāśasti* irrespective of their omission in the succeeding grants.

It is interesting to note here in this connection that the preamble of a grant² of Indravarman, dated 138th year G. E., differs considerably from that of the three inscriptions bearing dates 128, 137 and 154. It runs as follows:

जलधिजलनरङ्गकरपल्लवालिङ्गितसकलकलिगावनितलितलकायमानात् विजयकलिनगरात्
सकलभुवननिर्माणीकमूलधारस्य सकलशशाङ्कचूडामणेरमहाहिमोगपरिकरस्य
मेहेन्द्राचलशिखरनिवासिनो गोकर्णस्वामिनोनवरतप्रणामाद्दिगितकलिकलङ्कः
सहजविनयापास्तारिषिद्वयर्गोदयः शक्तिवयप्रकर्षावनत समस्तसामन्तशिरोमकुटमणिप्रभापल्लवित
चरणाभोजयुगलः स्वाधिगतनेकविद्याकलाकलापप्रसादावाप्तान्चार्यकः प्रथितविपुलामल
गाङ्गान्वयाम्बर सकलशरच्छशाङ्को मातृपितृपादानुध्यातः परमसाहेश्वरः श्रीमहाराजेन्द्रवर्मा.

The reason for such a marked difference in the phraseology of the *prāśasti* in this particular record is incomprehensible.

Besides, the difference in the form of characters of this record also adds to its peculiarity. Another noteworthy fact is that the writer and engraver of this charter are different from those of the previous and subsequent records dated 137 and 154 respectively. It must be, at the same time, pointed out here that besides the uniformity in characters employed in the charters dated 137, 154 and 183 of the Gāṅga era the writers and engravers also of these grants are the same.

The grant of year 138 G. E., seems, thus, to be an interloper in the middle. I have my own doubts as to the identity of Indravarman of this grant with the donor of the grants dated 128, 137 and 154 or 183 G. E. Future researches have to solve this problem.

An additional term is found in the phraseology of the formal preamble in Indravarman's record³ of the 154th year G.E. The Victorious Kāliṅganagara which was "pleasant in all seasons" (*Sarvartu-ramaṇyāt*) has now reason enough to be so (on account of the

1. *Ibid.* XIII, pp. 120 ff; *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 360 ff; *Ibid.*, XVII, pp. 307 ff.

2. *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, pp. 122 ff.

3. *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 131 ff.

simultaneous existence) of the comforts of all the seasons (*Sarvartu-sukha-ramaṇtyāt*).

The preamble of the grants¹ of Dēvēndravarmān, son of Guṇārṇava, dated 183, 184 and 192 G. E., marks yet another stage of development.

The attributes of god Gōkarṇasvāmin are the same, but the Gāṅga King feels himself much more stronger and his power more secure now than before. As such, he puts forth now extravagant claims that he is not only a receptacle of the three qualifications *naya*, *vinaya*, and *sampada* but also of "bravery, magnanimity, truthfulness and liberality" (*naya-vinaya-śaurya-audārya-satya-tyāga-sampadām-adhīrābhūtaḥ*). Prior to 183 G. E., he was the mere "lord of all the feudatories, subdued by his valour" (*pratāp-ōpanamita-samasta-sāmantah*). But now he is "the sovereign of the entire feudatory realm" (*pratāp-āvanta-samasta-sāmanṭa-cakrah*). If the supreme sovereignty over the whole of Kāṭṇga was obtained before by the "quivering of the edge of his own sword" (*svāsi-dhārā-parispandādhiḡ ita-sakala-Kāṭṇgādhirājyah*), it is now "acquired (in his own right) at the edge of his own sabre" (*nija-niṣtrimśa-dhār-ōpārjita-sakala-Kāṭṇgādhirājyah*). The city of Kāṭṇganagara with all its glory is now "the ornament of the whole earth and endowed with victory" (*Sakala-vasumati-tilakāyamānāt Vijayavatah Kāṭṇganagarāt*).

The preamble of the record² dated the year 195 G. E., of the same king, Dēvēndravarmān, extols him still more by attributing to him compassion, charity and courtesy" (*dayā-dāna-dākṣiṇya*). An additional term *mālā* is added to *tarāṅgamēkhalā* to make it *tarāṅgamālā-mēkhalā*.

Such additions and changes as shown above indicate the several stages in the gradual development of the formal *praśasti*. As stated before, it does not matter if the phrases or terms once added to the preamble were not continued in the succeeding grants. The thing to be determined is whether a term, phrase or phrases were newly added or was in use from the earliest record. Every term added marks a definite stage in the development and helps us chronologically.

From the year 195 G. E., there has come over a change in the form of characters used in the Early Gāṅga records. The letters in the record of 195 G. E., slightly differ from those in the previous charters. For the first time they assume the *Kuṭila* form.

Since the *praśasti* recorded in the grants of Dēvēndravarmān, dated in 183, 184, 192 and 195 G. E., does not materially differ from

1. *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 130 ff; *J. A. H. R. S.*, II, pp. 272 ff; *I. H. Q.*, XI, pp. 30 ff.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 212 ff.

that found in the grant ¹ of 204th year of Anantavarman, son of Dēvēndravarmān, Dēvēndravarmān of these grants may be taken to be identical.

The year 221 G. E., forms another land-mark in the evolution of the early Gāṅga *prasasti*.

The Gāṅga capital, first referred to simply as *Kaṭiṅganagara* without any qualifying words or phrases, became, very soon, the victorious *Kaṭiṅganagara* which was charming in all seasons. Later on, it was virtually an ornament of all the land of *Kaṭiṅga*. In course of time it became pleasing (to the people) by virtue of the simultaneous existence of comforts of all seasons. No doubt then it was the ornament of the whole earth itself. After the Gāṅga rule had been firmly established in the *Kaṭiṅga* country and their regal pomp had increased, the splendour of that city was enhanced to such an extent that it now actually resembled *Amarapura* (*Amarapurānukārīṇah*), the city of gods, in the reign of Anantavarman's son, Nandavarman. whose grant ² is dated 221 G. E.

The tutelary deity of the Gāṅgas god, Gōkarṇasvamin is now the receipt of "the crest-jewel called, moon" (*Sasāṅka-cūḍāmaṇih*).

The rulers of *Kaṭiṅga* are now proud of proclaiming to the world to have been born to "the ornament of the spotless family of the Gāṅgas" *Gāṅg-āmalakūla Tilak-ōdbhavah* than in the simple "spotless Gāṅga family" *Gāṅgāmala-kul-ōdbhavah* as before. As to the excellent group of qualities like wisdom, modesty and etc., they were never deprived of them hereafter.

Beginning from the year 221 G. E., the form of characters employed in the *Kaṭiṅga* grants for nearly a century, had hardly undergone a change to any appreciable extent although a great deal of divergence in the manner of writing is noticeable—some of the records being written in big characters, some in small, others in beautiful round hand and some in shabby crooked lines and curves.

It is to this period, I assign the two undated records, namely the Chicacole plates ³ of Dēvēndravarmān, and the Bangalore plates⁴ of Dēvēndravarmān. The names of the donors in both the grants are the same, but the names of their fathers differ, the Chicacole plates giving it as Arjunavarman, and the Bangalore plates, as Rājēndravarmān. The name Arjunavarman is not met with in any of the early Gāṅga grants excepting in this. It was probably

1. *J. A. H. R. S.*, II, pp. 272 ff. C. P. No. 2 of 1920—21.

2. *J. A. H. R. S.*, II, pp. 185 ff; *Bhārati*., V, No. 3

3. *J. A. H. R. S.*, II, pp. 192 ff; C. P. No. 7 of 1918—19.

4. *Ep. Car.*, IX, Bn. 140.

wrongly written for Anantavarman, a common name among the Early Gaṅgās.

The *praśasti* in these two records, is not, word for word, the same as that in the previous records; some terms are added anew, and a few others are omitted. The Gaṅga ruler is still "devoted to the worship of the lotus feet of God, Gōkarṇasvāmin" *Gōkarṇa svāmināś-carāṇa-kamal-ārādhana-aika-tatparah*⁸. His two feet now acquired excellence *Vara-carana-yugalāh*" by the additional qualification *Vara*." It is noteworthy that the donors of the Chicacole and Bangalore plates enjoyed "happiness" *kuśalatva* - "*Dēvēndra-varmadēvāh kuśali*, which their predecessors were devoid of.

A new phrase, "the destroyer of the principal mountains, (namely) their enemies" *dhvas-t-ārāti-kul-ācalāh* also is found in the Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarmān. This phrase was in use in the Early Gaṅga grants till the middle of the fourth century of the Gaṅga era. Since this phrase as well as the term *Kuśali* are found in the Vizagapatam grant⁶ of Dēvēndravarmān, son of Anantavarman, dated 254, the donor of the Chicacole plates must be his predecessor or successor. These additional phrases, absent in the grant of 221 G. E., suggest that the Chicacole plates were issued subsequent to that date. Let us see if we can still more precisely fix the place of the donors of the Chicacole and Bangalore plates.

The Chicacole and the Bangalore plates were engraved by Śrī Sāmanta Khaṇḍimalla and Śrī Khaṇḍivili respectively. If Khaṇḍivili has been wrongly written for Khaṇḍimalla as it seems probable then both may be said to be identical. The same person, Khaṇḍimalla was also the engraver of the grants of the Indian Museum plates, and the Tekkali plates¹ of Dēvēndravarmān, son of Rājēndravarmān, dated 308 and 314 G. E., respectively. The name, Khaṇḍimalla, a compound of Khaṇḍi and Malla, means Malla, son of Khaṇḍi. This Khaṇḍi father of Malla is, in my opinion, identical with Khaṇḍi Śrī Sāmanta, the engraver of the grant of Anantavarman's son, Dēvēndravarmān, dated 254 G. E. If this is accepted then Dēvēndravarmān, the donor of the Chicacole and Bangalore plates comes after 254 G. E. in point of time. Since the father of Dēvēndravarmān of the Chicacole plates is Anantavarman (wrongly written as Arjunavarman) the donors of the undated Chicacole plates and that of the Vizagapatam plates, dated 254 may be taken to be identical. Then, Dēvēndravarmān of the undated Bangalore plates and the donors of the Indian Museum and the Tekkali plates are also identical since their fathers bear the same name, Rājēndravarmān.

1. *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 143 ff.

In this connection a grant¹ of Dēvēndravarmaṇ, son of Anantavarman has to be taken into account. The date is given as *ekapañcāśat* = 51. The editor of this record, Dr. Fleet, identified this king with Dēvēndravarmaṇ of 254 G. E., on grounds of palæography and of similarity in names, and stated that the date 51 is a mistake for 251 G. E. Let us see if his conclusion is correct testing it with internal evidence.

To determine the identity of this Dēvēndravarmaṇ palæography is not as sure and safe a test as the phraseology of the *prāśasti* which is, in my opinion, a source of evidence of exceptional value, as far, at least, as the Early Gāṅga records are concerned.

The phrases *Amarapur-ānukāriṇiḥ* and *Saśūka-cūḍāmanīḥ* occurring in the preamble of the grant under discussion, definitely prove that it was issued subsequent to 221 G. E. The term *kuśāl* takes it nearer the record of 254 G. E. Since this record contains another phrase *sita-kumuda-kund-ēndavadāta-yaśūh*, which is found in the next known grant—the Alamanda plates² of Anantavarmadēva, son of Rājēndravarmaṇ, dated 304 G. E., its place may be fixed somewhere between 254 and 304 G. E.

For determining the date of an early Gāṅga grant there is yet another important feature, the terminology of the years in Gāṅga era, has to be taken into account. The date of Indravarmaṇ's grant, the earliest Gāṅga record so far known, is expressed in simple terms as *pravardhamāna sam. (samvatsarāḥ)*. In the next grant, the Narsingapalli plates of Hastivarman, a little development is found in the terminology. It runs as *Pravardhamāna-Vijaya-ājya-samvatsarāḥ*. This expression was continued in the grants of Hastivarman's successors till 304 G. E., in which year its developed form *Gāṅgēyavamsa-pravardhamāna-Vijayarājya-samvatsarāḥ* makes its appearance. Since no records between 254 and 304 G. E., have yet come to light it is not possible to ascertain how far earlier still this form came into use in the grants. It can, therefore, be plausibly concluded that this Dēvēndravarmaṇ belonged to a generation earlier or later than that of Rājēndravarmaṇ's son, Anantavarman of 304 G. E. I prefer to placing him earlier than Anantavarman of 304 G. E., since the donor of 254 G. E., also happens to be a Dēvēndravarmaṇ, son of Anantavarman. In such a case, the donors of both the grants bearing the name, Dēvēndravarmaṇ, might, in my opinion, be identical. In the light of the above discussion Dr. Fleet's suggestion proves too correct to be refuted. This arrangement makes

1. *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, pp. 273 ff.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 17-24.

the donors of the three grants, namely, the undated Chicacole plates, the grant dated 254 G.E., and the grant under discussion,—all identical.

Palæographical evidence supports this conclusion. Just as in the records dated 221 and 254 G. E., (See for example, ³ in *Amara-pur-ānukāriṇah*, and in *atra sīmālingāhi*, and ⁴ in “*sa-carā-cara-gurōh*” and in *Bhagavatō* and others) the sparse admixture of Nāgari letters in the record under discussion precludes us from assigning to it a date as early as 51 G. E., or in the first century of G. E., when no trace of any such admixture is found in the Gāṅga grants. Since the characters in this grant assume *kuṭila* type, a late date has to be assigned to it. The *Kuṭila* form is noticable in the Early Gāṅga charters for the first time from the year 195 G. E. This type predominates from about 254 G. E. The date 251 G. E., therefore, stands the test.

The next grant so far discovered, after that of Anantavarman's son Dēvēndravarmān, dated 254 G. E., is the Alamanda plates¹ of 304 G. E. of Anantavarman, son of Rājēndravarmān. This gap of fifty years from 254 to 304 may be easily covered by at least two generation of kings. Unfortunately, grants of any Gāṅga king bearing dates within this period, have not yet come to light. However, this period may be postulated as the rule of Rājēndravarmān, father of Anantavarman of 304 G. E., and of Dēvēndravarmān of 308, 310 and the Bangalūr grant, despite the paucity of his records and the absence of any clue to establish his relationship with any of his predecessors.

We have now to consider here about two more undated grants, one belonging to Vajrahastadēva² and the other of Anantavarman,³ son of Dēvēndravarmān.

The preamble of Vajrahasta's record closely resembles that of the record⁴ of 310 G. E., the phrases recorded in both being the same. He was undoubtedly a predecessor of Bhūpēndravarmān's son, Dēvēndravarmān of the Ciṭṭivalasa plates,⁵ dated 397 G. E., the preamble of which, teaming as it does with many changes and additional phrases, serves as another landmark in the evolution and development of the Gāṅga vamsa *prāśasti*. Vajrahasta seems to be still

1. *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 17 ff.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 220 ff.

3. *JAHNS.*, VIII, pp. 188 ff. *C. P.* No. 8 of 1918—19.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 311 ff.

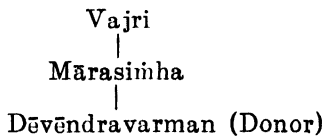
5. *JAHNS.*, II, pp. 146-164.

earlier than Rājēndravarmaṇ, son of Anantavarman, who issued the grants dated 304 G. E., as *Yuvaraja*, and 342¹ G. E., as crowned king. He may, therefore, be assigned a place somewhere about 310 G. E., in the chronological scheme of the Early Gāṅgas.

The *praśasti* of Anantavarman's record tallies with that recorded in the grants of Anantavarman, son of Rājēndravarmaṇ, dated in 304, and 308 G. E., with the exception of a few additional phrases, namely, *adhi* in *Kaliṅganagarādhipāsakāt*, *kamala* in *Varacarāṇa-kamalayugalah*, and *nirgata* in *kundēndravādātānirgatayaśāh*. A still further developed form of the last mentioned phrase into *sita-kumuda kundēndravādātadigdeśavinirgatayaśāh*, may be seen in a record of 310 G. E. This, probably, furnishes the clue to fix the place of Anantavarman about 310 G. E. Anantavarman's father, Dēvēndravarmaṇ of the grant under discussion may be identical with the donor of the grants, dated 304, 308 and 310 G. E.

The father of Satyavarman of the Chicacole plates² dated 351 G. E., and of Anantavarman, of the Tekkali plates³ dated 3[58] G. E., happens to be the same — Dēvēndravarmaṇ. As such, Satyavarman and Anantavarman may be taken to be the sons of Dēvēndravarmaṇ whom I tentatively identify with Dēvēndravarmaṇ, the donor of the grants, dated in 308 and 310 G. E.

If Bhūpēndravarmaṇ, father of Dēvēndravarmaṇ is identical with Anantavarman's son, Rājēndravarmaṇ of 314 G. E., referred to above, the names, Bhūpēndra and Rājēndra being synonymous then may be put forth an interesting proposition. Dēvēndravarmaṇ's record⁴ of 397 G. E., furnishes the pedigree of the donor for three generations as shown below :



Now, I identify Mārasimha, father of Dēvēndravarmaṇ with Bhūpēndravarmaṇ or Rājēndravarmaṇ, and Vajri with Rājēndravarmaṇ's father, Anantavarman of the Alamanda plates, dated in

1. *JBORS.* XII, p. 101.

2. *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 10.

3. *C. P. No.* 3 of 1935-36; *JKRCOI.* (1935), No. 27. Here the date is taken to be 300 G. E. "*Athavanasāha*" was not taken into account. The Superintendent of Epigraphy takes it to mean 58 cf. *vanasaha* with *pannasa*.

4. *JAHRS.*, II, pp. 146 ff. This is a grant of Dēvēndravarmaṇ, son of Bhūpēndravarmaṇ. The *śloka* in II, 14, 15 and 16 of this grant furnishes, according to my interpretation, this pedigree of the donor: Vajri; his son, Mārasimha; and his son, Dēvēndravarmaṇ. From this it is evident that Mārasimha had the alias Bhūpēndravarmaṇ

304 G. E., to which period we have assigned Vajrahastadēva. Taking note of the contemporaneity of Vajrahasta, Anantavarman, father of Rājēndravarman, and Vajri, grandfather of Dēvēndravarman I am inclined to identify Vajrahastadēva under discussion with Vajri alias Anantavarman.

The next important record is the Ciḍivalasa plates of Dēvēndravarman, son of Bhūpēndravarman, dated 397 G. E., alluded to above. The script employed in this charter is entirely *Nāgarī*. *Nāgarī* replaced the *Vēṅgī-Kaṭṭiṅga* script in the Early Gāṅga records nearly four centuries after the beginnings of the Gāṅga rule in Kaṭṭiṅga. In the Gāṅga grants subsequent to this date *Vēṅgī-Kaṭṭiṅga* script becomes a rarity. Only for a short time after 397 G. E., an occasional admixture of the *Nāgarī* and *Vēṅgī-Kaṭṭiṅga* characters is noticable in the records, gradually the former preponderating over the latter.

The change is not restricted to script only. The *prāśasti* also, has been stated already, underwent many changes. Kaṭṭiṅga-nagara is now developed into a big city with many temples and a large population. Hence, it is now described in very pompous terms as *anēka-dēva-kul-ākulā* and *ākalpānta-sankalpita-ānālpa-jana-sāmpat-samśōbhita-mahāmahimā*. Equally developed was the abode of the patron deity of the Gāṅgas, God Gōkarnasvāmin. He is referred to in glowing terms as *prasiddha-siddha-tāpas-ādhyāsita-kandar-ōdara-Mahēndragiri-sikhara-śēkharah*, and *Tribhuvana-mahāprāsāda-nirmāṇaika-Sūtradhārāh*. Even the Gāṅga kings are not satisfied with their former laudatory epithets. They are, now, described as *Sphārjan-nija-bhuja-vraja-bhrājita-sakala-Kaṭṭiṅgādhirājyah*, and *mandānila-vēl-ākula-kallōla-jaladhi-mēkhal-āvanital-āmala-yaśāh*.

In the midst of such striking developments in the formal preamble, it counts for nothing even if the terminology, expressive of date in this grant is simple *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samivatsarāh*, as in the early charters.

Gāṅga grants have yet to come to light bearing dates between 397 G. E., and 500 G. E.

Three more records have yet to be considered, besides the one bearing the chronogram *nava-śataka-sapta-rasa*.¹ This record, though embodies in it the *prāśasti* of the Early Gāṅga rulers, is in reality, a record of Vajrahasta dēva of the LATER GĀNGAS.² Hence, I leave it out here.

1. JBORS., XVII, pp. 175 ff.

2. JAHRS., XII, pp. 21 ff; Vide my article, 'A note on the Mandasa plates of Anantavarman.'

The dates of the three records are 500, 520 and 528 G. E., and belong to Vajrahasta¹ son of Kāmārṇava, Dēvendravarman² son of Anantavarman, and Madhukāmārṇava³ respectively. Of these three grants the last two were issued from Kāliṅganagara and the first, from Dantipura. This is the third grant so far known to have been issued from Dantipura, the other two being the charters of Indrarvarman⁴ of 39th year and of Indrarvarman⁵ son of Dānārṇava of 137th year G. E. The name of the city in these grants is given differently. While it was termed as Dantapura in the grants dated 39th and 137th years, the record of 500 G. E., calls it Dantipura. In spite of these slight differences in name the city may be taken to be one and the same.

The qualifying phrases attached to the capital, whether it is Kāliṅganagara or Dantipura, are the same.

By the time of these grants the capital city was a big metropolis. It was adorned with marble-white palaces gleaming with uninterrupted lovely dances of courtezans and with many families of highly learned men. It was, therefore, described as *Sudhādhavala-prūsādamālād-aviratavāra-vilāsini-lalita-lāsyād-uddaṇḍa-paṇḍita-kulā-lankṛta Sri Dantipura (Kāliṅganagara) vāsakūt*.

Another point to be noted in the *praśasti* is this: the plain "holy summit of the Mahēndra mountain"—the residential seat of God Gōkarṇasvāmin is now covered with gold in confirmity with the prosperity of the Gāṅga kingdom, and that deity is now venerated as *Mahēndrācal-āmala-kanaka-śikhara-pratiṣṭhitah*.

Neither of the names of the donor or of his father in the grant dated 500 G. E., ends in *varman* as in the previous records. Both the names are found in the lists of Gāṅga kings that preceeded Vajrahasta who was crowned in A. D. 1038, and in the same order also as father and son. This affords the clue to understand that, in reality, the donors of the Early Gāṅga charters and those of the Later Gāṅga records were of the same family.

TABLE OF EASTERN GĀNGA GRANTS.

(Overleaf)

1. *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 28 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 171 ff.
3. *JBORS.*, XVII, pp. 272 ff. *JAHRS.*, VIII, pp. 168 ff.
4. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 49 ff.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 860 ff.

A LIST OF EARLY GĀṄGA CHARTERS ISSUED

Serial No.	King		Years in G. E.	Undated grants	Issued from
	Donor's father	Donor			
1	—	Indravarman	39	—	Dantapura
2	—	Sāmantavarman	64	—	Saumyavana
3	—	Hastivarman	79	—	Kaṭiṅganagara
4	—	"	80	—	"
5	—	Indravarman	87	—	"
6	—	"	87	—	"
7	—	"	91	—	"
8	—	"	128	—	"
9	Dānārṇava	Indravarman	137	—	Dantapura
10	—	Indravarman	138	—	Kaṭiṅganagara
11	Dānārṇava	Indravarman	154	—	"
12	Guṇārṇava	Dēvēndravarmān	183	—	"
13	"	"	184	—	"
14	"	"	192	—	"
15	"	"	195	—	"
16	Dēvēndravarmān	Anantavarman	204	—	"
17	Anantavarman	Nandavarman	221	—	"
18	Anāntavarman	Dēvēndravarmān	[*2]51	—	"
19	"	"	254	—	"
20	"	"	—	C. P. No. 7/1918-19	"
21	Rājēndravarmān	Anantavarman	304	—	"
22	—	Vajrahasta	—	Ep. Ind., III, 220	"
23	Rājēndravarmān	Dēvēndravarmān	308	—	"
24	"	"	310	—	"
25	"	"	—	Ep. Car. IX, Bn. 140	"
26	Anantavarman	Rājēndravarmān	314	—	"
27	"	"	342	—	"
28	Dēvēndravarmān	Satyavarman	351	—	"
29	Dēvēndravarmān	Anantavarman	358	—	"
30	"	"	—	C. P. No. 8/1918-19	"
31	Bhūpēndravarmān	Dēvēndravarmān	397	—	"
32	"	"	—	—	"
33	Kāmārṇava	Vajrahasta	500	—	Dantipura
34	Anantavarman	Dēvēndravarmān	520	—	Kaṭiṅganagara
35	Anantavarman	Madhukāmārṇava	528	—	"

1. My restored reading.

2. Nāgana.

FROM KALINGANAGARA AND DANTAPURA.

Writer of the grant		Engraver of the grant		Pratibōdha
Writer's father	Writer	Engraver's father	Engraver	
Bhānucandra	Dēvasiṅgadēva Vinayacandra	Bhānucandra	Vinayacandra	Āditya.
"	"	—	—	Buddhamai
"	"	—	—	bhōgik
"	"	—	—	Dēvabhōgi
"	"	—	—	Koṇḍavalla
Dēvacandra	Saṅkaradēva	Vinayacandra	Ādityamañci	
Dharmacandra	Sāmbapurō- pādhyāya	Āditya-bhōgika	Khaṇḍicandra- bhōgika	
Saṅkaradēva ¹	Sarvadata ¹	—	Khaṇḍicandra	
Dharmacandra	Sāmbapurō- pādhyāya	Āditya-bhōgika	Sarvacandra	
—	Pallavacandra	Khaṇḍicandra	"	
Mātṛcandra	Pallavacandra	"	"	
"	"	"	"	
"	Madanāṅkura- pallava	Saṅkara	Nāgaṇa boi	
—	—	Naṭamañci (?)	—	
—	Nāgarāja	—	—	
Durgadēva	Ugradēva	—	Sarvadēva Khaṇḍi	
—	Sarvacandra	—	Khaṇḍimalla	
—	Duggapa	—	Nāgaṇa ²	
—	Drōṇacārya	—	Naṅkañcyama(?) ³	
—	Sarvacandra	—	Khaṇḍimalla	
—	"	—	"	
—	Raha (?)	—	Khaṇḍivili Dāmacandra	
—	—	—	—	
—	—	Khaṇḍyama	Virapa	
—	—	—	—	
—	Vijika	—	—	
—	Mudapa	—	Savvadapa	
—	—	—	—	
—	Ayyana	—	Raṅgāmōju	
—	—	—	—	
Mādhava	Madhusūdana	—	Raṅama ⁴	

3. The engraver might be Nāgaṇa (Nāgaṇa - Kāṇoyamācāri) himself.

4. He might be 'Ra(n)gama' and not 'Raṅama'.

The next two records bearing dates 520, and 528¹ G. E., as stated already, were issued from Kāṭṭiṅganagara. Madhukāmārṇava, the donor of the latter grant is, in all probability, identical with the immediate predecessor of Vajrahasta, alluded to above. This again furnishes another piece of evidence to prove that the EARLY and LATER GĀNGAS belong to the same dynasty and that the Gāngas of the Early grants are the predecessors of the Later Gāngas.

In the preamble of Madhukāmārṇava's record the phraseological development reaches its culmination. It is unnecessary for us to study this preamble any more since the rule of the so-called Early Gāngas terminates with that of Madhukāmārṇava.

1. I agree with Mr. R. Subbarao in taking the date of the Chicacolo plates of Madhukāmārṇava to be 528 and not 526, the usually quoted one.

REVIEWS

THE NUMBER OF RASAS By DR. V. RAGHAVAN M. A., PH. D.,
Department of Sanskrit, University of Madras. Publishers: The
Adyar Library, Adyar, Pages 192]

In this work Dr. Raghavan mainly discusses the place of *Sānta* among the Rasas.

Though the Sanskrit compound 'Navarasa' is so very common today not only among the scholars, but even among the ordinary people, time was when Indian Rhetoricians recognised only eight Rasas. Bharata enumerates the Rasas thus :

शृङ्गार हास्य करुण रौद्र वीर भयानकाः

भीमत्स्याद्भूतसंज्ञौचेत्यष्टौनाट्येरसाः स्मृताः॥

So, the ninth Rasa which is not included in the earlier works on *Alaṅkāra* is *Sānta*, which might have found place in the list of Rasas, after the advent of *Nāgānanda* of *Śrī Harsha*, in the seventh century. Dr. Raghavan upholds the theory that *Sānta* was not originally considered a Rasa at all, and opines that the reading of Bharata's *Śloka* quoted above was the composition of the later day students of *Alaṅkāra*.

The exclusion of *Sānta* from the list of Rasas by the earlier *Alaṅkārikas*, is not due to their want of respect for *Sānta* but it is due to the fact that they considered *Sānta* to be on a much higher level than the other sentiments, the *Sthāyibhāva* of *Sānta* being the highest conceivable or inconceivable thing, *Ātman*. Dr. Raghavan says that the counting of *Sānta* as a Rasa at a later period does not in any way bespeak the want of respect for *Sānta* among our ancients; for as Dr. Raghavan says the Rasa of the great Epic, *Mahabharata*, is *Sānta*, and the *Sānta* atmosphere portrayed in the *Rshyaśramas* in *Raghuvamśa* and *Sākuntala* is simply enchanting.

The last four sections of Dr. Raghavan's work contain learned discourses on the varieties among the various Rasas, the philosophy of Rasa, the three *Bhāvas*, *Sthāyin*, *Vyabhichārin* and *Sattvika* and the *Rasa* Synthesis.

For a student of *Alaṅkāra Śāstra* there is much to gather in Dr. Raghavan's work.

G. P.

ANCIENT INDIA. History of Ancient India for 1,000 years in four Volumes. From 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. Volume III. By Tribhuvandas L. Shah, Shashikant and Co., Baroda. Price Rs. 9/-

Vol. III of the series, which is under review, covers the history of Ancient India after the decline of the Mauryan Empire. The first

four chapters are devoted to the consideration of the salient features in the history of the Sunga dynasty. The preparation of what Dr. Shah calls 'a correct dynastic and chronological list of the Sungas' is attempted. Fresh light is thrown on Patanjali, Pushyamitra, Agnimitra and Kalki. Sufficient emphasis is laid on the part played by Demetrius and Menandar in bringing about the fall of the Sungas. Eleven chapters follow in which the essential features, of the complicated history of the various foreign races who invaded India, are brought together. The next three chapters give us a detailed account of the Gardabhila dynasty and the Saka rulers of Avanti. The last two chapters contain details about the original founder and duration of the different eras, a knowledge of which is considered necessary for a proper elucidation of the facts of Ancient Indian History.

Thus we are given a rich fare and much that attempt to shake to their foundations our preconceived notions on the subjects dealt with in the book. The chronological sequence of the Sunga dynasty presented by the author deserves careful investigation. The account given about the history of Mathurā and Takṣasīlā (pages 201-224) is extremely interesting. His discussion, of the various eras, especially the Vikrama and Saka eras, breaks new ground though we must defer, for the present, final judgment on his conclusions. His theories may startle us but the scholarship which they reveal and the zeal with which they are defended are extremely praiseworthy. Dr. Shah has done immense service to the study of Ancient Indian History by throwing a new searchlight on many problems.

The numerous chronological and analytical tables and the large number of maps enhance the value of the book. We can safely recommend it as a good reference book to any library containing serious books on Ancient Indian History.

G. N.

SOME ASPECTS OF ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE (being the Sir William Meyer Lectures, 1938-39 of D.R. Bhandarkar M.A., Ph.D. Published by the University of Madras, 1940, pp. 87) Price Rs. 2/-

Dr. Bhandarkar, the famous scholar, throws a great deal of light, in this series of Lectures, on the manner in which Aryan Cultures came to India and influenced the older civilisation of the people, and the way in which in turn it was influenced by the surrounding circumstances.

To start with, Dr. Bhandarkar puts in a strong plea for the study of the Vedas from the *historical* point of view. The most sacred book of the Hindus has been read from the philological

literary and religious points of view, but very few have approached it as historical material, which tells us very much about the culture of the Aryans, *as well as the non-Aryans*.

Discussing the three terms Arya, Dāsa, and Sūdra, he comes to the conclusion that Dāsa or Dāsyu was the name given by the Aryans setting down in India "to signify foreigners or barbarians, of a dusky complexion;" and that later on this was replaced by the word Sūdra—Anybody who was not a Brāhmaṇa or a Kshatriya or a Vaisya, be he of indigenous or foreign extraction was considered a Sūdra. The Essence of Aryan Culture was the recognition of the four *Varnas*, (Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sūdra) and the four *āśramas* (Brahmacharya, Gṛihastha, Vānaprastha and Sanyāsa) or stages in life; but we are told that in Vedic times, in fact up till the Gupta period, the *varnas* were mere classes, 'so that an Aryan could change one for the other, according to his character and occupation. Society was in a much more fluid condition than now.

As regards the worship of the gods, though the Vedas mention many deities, the religion advocated in them is henotheism or 'the exaltation of a single god at a time.' The idea involved in the famous verse *ekam sad viprā bahudhā vadanti* — sages name variously that which is but one — has fused all the jarring faiths of India into Hinduism, which is really therefore worship of one Universal God. The Ṛig Veda may well be called a hymnology replete with emotion and imagination of a high order; and its forceful appeal could not be resisted by the Mongols, Greeks, Chaldeans and other foreigners as well as the aborigines in the land who in course of time embraced the new faith and became absorbed into the Hindu Elements of society. This process of Aryanisation was possible, because in the old days Hinduism was a proselytising religion; its votaries were prepared to go to distant lands for the purpose of colonisation; and its missionaries were prepared to get converts from other faiths to their religion by prescribing various purificatory rites. This vigour or virility was kept up, as shown by archæological and numismatic evidence, till at least the 11th century, after which time it was gradually lost. In the ancient Hindu Social structure, caste was an elastic feature and a person may be raised or degraded according to his deeds. In his last lecture, the author shows that just as Aryan culture influenced other people, it was influenced by other cultures, notably those of Buddhism and Jainism. The glorification of Ahimsa, as one of the cardinal virtues and the deification of the cow as a sacred animal—these are but two instances of the way in which Hinduism absorbed some of the best features of the religion of the Buddha and the Jina. This was further recognised by regarding the Lord Buddha as an *avatār* of Vishnu and thus giving him a place in the Hindu pantheon.

As the outcome of the remarkable erudition and ripe experience of Dr. Bhandarkar, the book is of absorbing interest, not only to the historian but also to the layman.

N. R. K.

THE RĀMĀYANA POLITY by Miss P. C. Dharma, Women's College, Benares Hindu University Rs. 2/-

Miss Dharma deserves to be warmly congratulated for giving us a delightfully interesting little brochure entitled 'The Rāmāyana Polity.' Rightly does the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri remarks in his foreword that 'it shows great industry in gathering material and sound judgment in interpreting the same.' Chapter I is in the nature of a general introduction discussing such questions as the date of the Rāmāyana, the Aryans, the four varṇas and āśramas, the conception of an Itihasa as history etc. The next six chapters deal with the various parts of the central government, the king, the yuvarāja, the council of ministers, the sabha, judicial administration etc. Details of local administration are touched in chapter 8 while in a time of war like the present chapter 9, which concerns itself with the organization of the army and the ethics of war will be found most interesting.

The system of administration during the Ramayana period was of an advanced nature. It was 'a development of the vedic polity' and it anticipated to a great extent the later and more elaborate political system of the Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya. It was far from sentimentary and will even compare favourably with the administration of modern times. We should not, however, carry the comparison too far. Political institutions like Rājakātri or the Sabha or Amātya-gaṇa in the Ramayana epoch should not make us forget that they imply nothing more than a general correspondence of conceptions, not a close parity in details with their modern counterparts, the king maker, the Assembly or the cabinet. Secondly, we are afraid, that Miss Dharma has overstressed the constitutional character of the monarchy during the Rāmāyana period. Vālmiki was a poet and he gave us an idealised picture of the monarchy though the same may have been based to a large extent on concrete facts known to him. The people's voice in the choice of their king, the limitations imposed on him by the coronation oath, the dependence of the king on the ministry and the various representative assemblies of the people were certainly checks but we know from ever so many examples in the pages of Indian History that monarchy in the earlier times was not of the constitutional type but belonged to the category of benevolent autocracies. Democratic institutions there were—alive and kicking, but they had a limited sphere of influence.

G. N.

THE XX ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL
RESEARCH SOCIETY, PRESENTED AT THE MEETING
OF THE GENERAL BODY HELD ON TUESDAY,
15TH APRIL 1941.

[This meeting should have been held on the 6th instant; for want of quorum it was adjourned to this day and hour.]

We are meeting here to-day under the shadow of the death of two gentlemen who were intimately connected with the Society from the very inception. Sri Nyapathi Subba Rao Pantulu, B. A., B. L., Advocate and Landholder and the most respected citizen of Rajahmundry, took a keen and sympathetic interest in the welfare and progress of the Society. It was his donation of Rs. 50 at the very outset in 1922 that helped a good deal to make the celebration of the *Ninth Centenary Day of Rajaraja Narendra's Coronation* a great success and the foundation of the Society an accomplished fact. His death is no small loss to us. Sri Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu, B. A., B. L., Retired Deputy Collector, was a great scholar. He was for six long years the President of the Society. It was during the period of his presidentship that the Society celebrated first the *Kalinga Day* at Mukhalingam and the *Kakatiya Day* at Warangal. Even after retirement from the Presidentship of the Society, Mr. Ramayya Pantulu continued to evince interest in the Society. In 1938, the Society celebrated his 75th birthday under the presidentship of Rao Bahadur C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, and in commemoration of the event issued Volume X of the Journal of the Society in a consolidated form as Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu Birthday Commemoration Volume.

At the last annual meeting of the General body held on 7th April 1940, the following office-bearers were elected.

President: Khan Bahadur YAHYA ALI Saheb Bahadur, M.A., B.L.
Vice-President: Sri N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu B.A., B.L.
Secretary: Sri B. V. Krishna Rao, M.A., B.L.
Treasurer: Sri K. J. Gopala Rao, B.A., B. L.
Librarian & Curator: Sri A. Sankara Rao, B.A., L.T.

ORDINARY MEMBERS OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL.

Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur, Zamindar.
Sri Rallabandi Subba Rao, M.A., L.T.
Sri M. Sambasiva Rao,
Sri M. Anna Reddi, M.A., LL.B.

CHANGES IN THE OFFICE-BEARERS

During the year there were many changes in the office-bearers. The President who was District and Sessions Judge of East Godavari, Mr. Subbarao, was transferred to Anantapur, and consequently he resigned. His resignation was accepted by the Council at its meeting held on 22—8—1940; and at the same meeting Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur was elected President. But the Rajah Saheb expressed his inability to be the President of the Society. The Council then at its meeting held on 18—2—1941 elected Mr. N. Kameswara Rao, Vice-President as the President of the Society. Consequent on the elevation of the Vice-President to the Presidentship, the former office fell vacant; and the Council elected Mr. R. Subba Rao to that office. Mr. Subbarao's place as an ordinary member of the Council was then filled by electing Mr. Vaddadi Apparao, B.A., B.L. to it. During the early part of the year Mr. A. Sankara Rao resigned his office of the Librarian & Curator of the Society. The Council at its meeting held on 20—8—1940 elected Mr. Anna Reddi, a member of the Council to that office; and in the vacancy of Mr. Anna Reddi elected Mr. G. Narayanaswami Aiyer to the Council.

MEMBERS AND SUBSCRIBERS

Though there had been fresh admission of *ordinary* members to the Society, the number on the rolls remains the same. This is due to the fact that while new members come in old ones drop out, some by death and others by resignation. We have to-day 112 members on our rolls. As many as 150 names have been struck off the rolls, of whom 34 resigned and the rest either died or dropped their membership.

There has been increase in the *subscribers* by the addition of 100.

There has been no increase in the honorary membership of the Society during the year. There are two Honorary Life members of the Society and their names will be found at the end in the Appendix. Till now we have not conferred the Honorary membership of the Society on any scholar outside Andhra. It is now proposed that the honour may be conferred upon two outstanding scholars who are not likely to become or continue as ordinary members of the Society.

D. R. Bhandarkar M.A., Hon. PH. D. and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M. A., F. R. A. S. B. Dr. Bhandarkar is an eminent scholar and historian. In honouring him the Society will be honouring Mr. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., F.R.A.S.B., Director-General of Archaeology in India is another great scholar who has been working with keen and sympathetic interest the welfare and progress of the Society. And we owe to his watchful care and sympathy

some of the very valuable and important publications of the Government of India and the Bhopal Durbar as presents to our Library. These two gentlemen are elected for a period of three years.

There is no increase in the number of *life members* of the Society. There are only six life members and their names are given in the Appendix.

MEETINGS OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL.

The year under report is a bad period for the Society. There were only six meetings of the Council during the year at which the business of the Society was transacted. The Maharajah of Jeypore, Maharaja Dr. Sri Vikrama Deo Varma Maharajulumgaru, Hon. D. Litt. (Andhra) is a patron of the Society. He was in this city in August last year. The Council availed itself of the opportunity of the Maharaja Saheb's visit to this place and presented an address of welcome to him. That took place on 26th August 1940. The Maharaja Saheb was so pleased with the Society and the working of the Library that he announced a special donation of Rs. 200 to the Society. The address which the Council presented to the Maharaja Saheb is to be found at the end of this report. The Council elected three delegates to the Fourth Session of the Indian History Congress at Lahore, to represent the Society. They were Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, Mr. R. Subba Rao, and Mr. M. Anna Reddi. It is to be regretted that though the delegates contributed papers they could not attend the Session.

RULES COMMITTEE

The Council appointed a Committee consisting of Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, Mr. R. Subba Rao and Mr. G. Narayanaswami, the last mentioned as convener to revise and bring up-to-date the Rules of the Society. The work is proceeding; and it is hoped that it will be possible to print the revised RULES during the ensuing year.

JOURNAL

It is to be greatly regretted that Vol. XIII of the *JAHRS* could not be issued during the year as was expected. The non-publication of the Journal was due to variety of causes but the main cause was the trouble the Council had with the printer who did not get new types of printing material as originally promised. Hence negotiations with the S. P. Press and S. R. P. Works were started and in the end, the Council decided to entrust the printing

of the Journal to the S. R. P. Works as its rates were suitable and agreeable. The new printer had to recast his type in order to obtain the necessary type with all diacritical letters and it was December by the time the new type was ready in the S. R. P. Works. Another cause for the non-publication of the Journal is that the Council decided in February not to issue Vol. XIII as a consolidated Volume of all the four parts put together but to issue the four parts separately as far as possible. The Journal is now in print; it will be issued shortly.

REDDI SANCHIKA

It is unfortunate that the progress of printing of the Reddi Sanchika has been slow during the year. A variety of causes over which the Council had no control contributed to the slow execution of the work. The council hopes that the new year will create an atmosphere for expediting the work in a satisfactory manner.

THE LIBRARY, FREE READING ROOM AND MUSEUM

The Library, Free Reading Room and the Museum have been as usual attracting a number of visitors every day. And it is gratifying to observe that the average attendance per day is fifteen visitors. A catalogue, rather a revised catalogue, and proper arrangement of the books are the most important needs for the Library. It is hoped that the new Library Committee and the Librarian will exert themselves to remove the long standing want during this year.

FINANCES OF THE SOCIETY

The finances of the Society have not improved. More members and more public sympathy have to be enlisted. It is hoped that the new Council will find ways and means to enlist more public sympathy and adequate financial support from several places in Andhra that have not been so far visited. During the year the Society received a donation of Rs. 200 from the District Board, East Godavari. The Society's thanks are due to the President and Members of the District Board. The Council requested the District Board to make an annual contribution to the Society of a sum of Rs. 200 but the Board expressed its inability to do so.

The Council appeals to all members local and mufussil to bring in as many members as possible into the Society so that the Society may do more and more useful work in future.

B. V. KRISHNA RAO,
Secretary.

THE XX ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE HON. LIBRARIAN
FOR THE YEAR 1940—41.

I took charge of the Library only on 27—8—'40. As no separate report is being submitted by Mr. A. Sankara Rao, the previous librarian, I propose to deal with the working of the Library for the whole year i. e. from 7—4—40 to 6—4—41.

Our Library is situated in an ideally convenient and central locality. Hence it is attracting a good number of visitors and readers. The number of visitors and readers during 1940—41 is 3449. The number of visitors and readers during 1937—38 was only 896. So it is obvious that there is a marked improvement in the number of visitors. The average number of daily visitors is nearly 15.

During the year there are about 400 additions including periodicals and Books for review ; the number of books being about two dozens. Among books and journals received mention may be made of the following :—History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa, Records of Fort. St. George, Ephigraphia Indica ; Indian Information, Annals of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati: Journal of Indian History, The Modern Review, Viswa Bharati, Bharati, Grihalakshmi, Triveni. Thus we are getting many good journals both in English and in Telugu. There are a good number of periodicals on our exchange list.

In conclusion I wish to add a word. A resolution was passed sometime back to check the whole Library. But nothing is done in that respect. It is necessary to check the Library. A list of missing books and volumes, if any, should be prepared and a fresh catalogue is absolutely necessary.

Rajahmundry }
6—4—1941 }

M. A. REDDI,
Hon. Librarian.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF INCOME & EXPENDITURE OF

Statement of Income and Expenditure

Details of Expenditure :		Rs.	A.	P.
Advance to Secretary	...	8	0	0
Postage	...	36	8	0
Miscellaneous	...	11	11	0
Establishment	...	88	8	0
Journal Printing including advances	...	307	3	0
Rent and lighting	...	162	0	0
Stationery (Paper etc.)	...	125	15	0
Savings Bank Deposit (on page 66 of cash book)		* 3	10	11
Travelling Allowances	...	2	0	0
Reddi Sanchika Pamphlets	...	28	0	0
Purchase of Books	...	10	6	0
To Balance :				
Rs. 172 4 6.	Total Expenditure	...	783	13 11

From the statements drawn above, it will be observed that the financial condition of the society is not so good as it was during the previous years ; it is due to the absence of the issue of the journal. In most cases advances have been received already from the institutions for the journal to be issued. In spite of all these attempts to keep up the financial condition, we fail ; but for the efforts of the Honorary

Rajahmundry, }
D. 6-4-1941 }

* This item of expenditure Rs. 3-10-11 seems to be a mistake and hence it has to be deleted. So the actual expenditure ought to be Rs. 783-13-11 - Rs. 3-10-11 = 780-3-0.

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY.

for 1940 (April) to 1941 (March)

Opening Balance :		Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
S. B. Account Balance	...	152	0	0	152	1	1
Balance on hand	...				132	14	6
					284	15	7
Details of Income :	...				667	7	11
Subscriptions from Members	...	96	4	0			
Miscellaneous (A sum of 3-10-11 } is interest on deposit) }	...	4	3	11			
By sale of publications	...	49	8	0			
From Institutions	...	109	8	0			
Advances recovered	...	8	0	0			
Contributions from East Godavary } District Board and Maharajah }		400	0	0			
Saheb of Jeypore Rs. 200 each							
Total	...	667	7	11	952	7	6

Secretary Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao M. A., B.L, the financial condition of the society would have been worse. He approached the East Godavary District Board and the Maharajah Saheb of Jeypore who contributed Rs. 200 each for the benefit of the society and the society is highly indebted to him. It is highly desirable to work at adding new members for strengthening the financial condition of the society.

K. J. GOPALA ROW, B.A., B.L.

Honorary Treasurer,

ADDRESS PRESENTED TO
SRI SRI SRI
DR. VIKRAMA DEO MAHARAJULUMGARU,
HON. D.LITT. (ANDHRA) MAHARAJAH OF JEYPORE,
PRO-CHANCELLOR, ANDHRA UNIVERSITY &
PATRON, ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

May it please You Maharajah Saheb!

We are happy and proud to accord to you a hearty welcome to our Society, after years of interval, once again.

We are grateful to you for your constant and watchful care of our Society's progress as our Sole Patron.

Fourteen years ago Providence brought the Society into close touch with you. It was the Society's singular good fortune that you were generously pleased to be the CHAIRMAN of the Reception Committee of the KALINGA DAY CELEBRATION at Mukhalingam, and thereafter to extend to the Society oft and on great help in every manner.

Since then the Society has been enjoying the warmth of your patronage and carrying on work continuously, which has been recognised all over the country. We are proud to state that the Society's activities and achievements have been throughout varied and valuable.

As the Pro-Chancellor of the Andhra University and Patron of our Society and as Patron of other learned bodies, of Letters, Scholars and Poets your splendid munificence is well known. Our Society which is flourishing under your benevolent care has no building of its own though it has been in existence for nearly two decades. We therefore humbly and earnestly beg to appeal to you to extend your gracious patronage so that the Society may have a permanent abode of its own associated with your illustrious name.

We humbly pray the All-Merciful Almighty to bless you with long life, sound health and increasing prosperity.

*We remain,
Respected Sir,*

Rajahmundry }
26—8—1940 }

The President, & Members
of the Managing Council,
Andhra Historical Research Society.

HON. LIFE MEMBERS

Sri R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T.
Sri Chilukuri Narayana Rao, M.A., PH.D.
Sri P. Seetaramayya.

Journal of the ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XIII.

DEC. 1940 & APRIL 1941,

PARTS 3 & 4.

THE SORAS

G. V. SITAPATI, B. A., L. T.

(Continued from Vol XII, p. 207 above)

RELIGION

Part I Magico - Religious phenomena

The Soras live in a world of Spirits and Deities which are believed to direct and control, with their superior powers, the course of nature and of human life. Of these spirits and deities, a few are distinctly benign, some are indifferent or neutral but many are generally malign. The Soras, therefore, devote a great part of their time, energy and money to propitiate or please all of them; they worship the benign with a sense of gratitude, they attempt to appease the wrath of the indignant and malignant spirits and to keep them in good temper with the customary offerings and sacrifices; and they occasionally worship the indifferent or neutral spirits. To avert or get relief from the evil of the malignant spirits, the Soras have recourse to spells, incantations and other rites of a magical nature. It is not possible to distinguish the religious and the magical character of the beliefs and practices of the Soras, because when they worship a spirit or attempt to ward off an evil, they combine both religions and magical methods in such a manner that they cannot be easily distinguished. The magical element is also present when the Soras attempt to cure a disease by medicine.¹ Every medicine-man among them is supposed to be endowed with magical powers. The Soras fully believe that in curing a disease, neither the propitiation of the spirits nor the treatment by medicine nor a combination of both of them is efficacious without a mixture of magical spells or practices.

1. Vide Part II below.

In these circumstances, it is safe and proper to use the expression "Magico-Religious" in describing the relations between the Soras and the spirits and deities, worshipped and propitiated by them. Almost every important item of the life of the Soras is associated with their Magico-Religious beliefs and practices.

THE CEREMONIES, RITES AND FESTIVALS

These may be grouped under two classes: those that relate to the individual families in the village and those that relate to the village as a whole. The former consist of the ceremonies and rites relating to the birth of a child, the first share given to the child's head, marriage and death; and the latter, to the agricultural operations, the harvest festivals, the biennial or triennial '*guār*'. (literally meaning the fixing up of the stone slabs) in memory of the deceased. The former are the concern of the individual families who bear the expense and are responsible for their performance according to the prevailing custom called in Sora language *ukkā*. The society, identical with the village, is not, however, indifferent to their performance. The elders of every other house in the village are invited to attend the ceremonies and rites performed in any one house. On such an occasion, there is generally a feast but every house that is invited to it takes a measure of rice and vegetables varying with the number of members in the family to give relief to the host. Some of them render also adequate help in making the preparations. The festivals etc., included in the second group belong to the village as a whole. They are celebrated with the conjoint effort of all the families in the village. In the case of *guār*, however, the expense is borne only by the families of the deceased for whom the memorial stone slabs are fixed up. But every family contributes to the feast that follows the *guār* in the village. Very often friends and relations residing in other villages are invited to the *guār*. When they come to attend the *guār* function and stay on for the feast as well, they bring with them their contribution of rice and vegetables etc.¹

The most interesting village festivals relate to the first crops of the year. The following is a list of them:—

Buroy'-an-a-adur' (=the festival relating to a kind of millet *panicum italicum*),

1. The principle that no man should be inconvenienced or burdened by too many guests is strongly developed among the Soras. A Sora was appointed in Parlakimedi as Government Sora interpreter. A large number of his friends and relations were coming to Parlakimedi either on business or to see the car festival in the town. The Sora interpreter used to invite them to his house; and whenever they accepted his invitation they used to take with them rice, vegetables etc. and help him and his wife in preparing the food.

Ganugay'-an-a-adur' = the festival relating to sweet potato, (*dioscorea alata*),

Kondem'-an-a-adur = the festival relating to the coarse variety of corn grown on the hills, which the Sora-deities prefer to the paddy grown on wet lands. In several places the Soras now raise a fine variety of paddy on wet lands and they call it *Saron* but they have no festival relating to this. The reason is apparent. The Soras restrict their festivals to the crops with which their ancestors were familiar. Several new crops are now raised such as paddy, horsegram, green-gram, black-gram, Bengal-gram but they have no harvest festivals.¹

Kur'oj-an-a-adur' = the festival relating to a kind of gram, called *holcus spicatus*,

Ōsā-n-a-adur = the festival relating to the raggee millet; a harvest festival performed before reaping the crop,

Rogō-n-a-adur = the festival relating to red-gram,

Tanku-n-a-adur = the festival relating to the stone of a (mango fruit). The Soras remove the stones from the unripe mango fruit, sprinkle salt and preserve them after they are well dried in the sun for a few days. They keep well for a year and use them in making soups.

Ud'an-a-adur = the festival relating to the ripe mango fruit.

The Soras eat about fifteen varieties of pot herbs that grow in their country. But only a few of them are honoured by a festival: *Baradab-an* = *bauhinia*; *satidda-n* = a kind of hemp.

Similarly there are a number of vegetables which the Soras eat but only a few of them are selected for festivals: *enud-an* = cucumber, (*cucumis sativis*.)

Of all the agricultural operations, it is only *pajjing-an* (= pulling out the weeds) that is considered worthy of a festival. *Osa-n-a-adur* mentioned above is celebrated at the crop before harvesting it. These festivals must have been instituted before the Soras learned to plough the land.

Not a single grain of the new crops, or a new leaf of the pot herbs or a fruit (ripe or unripe) of the trees mentioned above should be eaten or even tasted until and unless the festivals relating to them are celebrated. This rule is strictly enforced even in the case of children. As regards the crops, pot-herbs and the fruit of the trees, not mentioned in the list above, there is a general rule

1. In these names the first part in the name of the crop, *-an* is a nominal suffix, *-a* is a particle suffixed to form the genitive case and *adur* means festival. The nominal suffix after a vowel is only *n*.

that they should not be eaten before *ḍḍā-ḡāj-an* (the full noon of *Phalgun*, during February or March). This is apparently a rule of recent times formulated in accordance with the custom prevailing among the Oriyas and Telugus residing in the plains near the Sora country. On that day, there is a big fire to perpetuate the memory of *Kāmadahānam*, the burning of Cupid by Siva in all big centres particularly when the Oriya Bissoyees, the recent political heads reside. The villagers rush to the place and get fire from the burning pile of wood and put it in their hearths after they are well cleared and cleaned. The Soras very carefully keep on the fire in their hearths throughout the year. On the day on which the new fire is brought they set a pot on it and prepare a meal in which they put every edible fresh thing of the year—the leaves, the fruit, the grains, the tubers etc. But there is no particular festival attached to it apparently because this is a borrowed custom of recent times.

Before taking up the description of the various Sora ceremonies, rites and festivals,¹ I should like to give an account of the Sora deities and spirits because their worship is an inevitable factor of every ceremony, rite or festival.

SORA DEITIES AND SPIRITS

Kudān-an is the name of the Sora priest. It is only from these priests that we can get the names of the Sora deities and spirits. The ordinary Sora has no clear knowledge of them. The priests themselves say that the Sora deities and spirits are so innumerable that no one knows the names of all of them. They are sometimes revealed to them by deities themselves in the course of seances. It is very difficult to get an adequate or accurate information from the priests because they are generally reticent regarding their religion and often reluctant to reveal to others the secrets of their magico-religious practices. They would not chant the hymns except when they actually officiate and it is very difficult to commit them to writing when they are chanted, because they are either murmured in low tones or chanted too rapidly to be followed. In such circumstances, the list given below or an account of any of the deities and spirits cannot profess to be complete or quite accurate in all its details.

Sonum-an is the general name for the Sora deities and spirits. *Sum-an* is the contracted form of the word. In compound words, it is only the contracted form that should be used as the final member of the compound. Hence, we have names such as *Labō-Sum*² (= the

1. Vide Part III below for a detailed description.

2. The nominal suffix *-an* is optionally dropped in ordinary speech. In my monograph, I sometimes use it and sometimes drop it for the sake of economy of space.

deity of earth), *Rāudā-sum* (=the spirit that produces catalepsy) and *Kannī-sum* (=another deity that also produces catalepsy). Though all deities and spirits may be called *Sōnums*, the Soras mention, by different names, several orders or classes of deities and spirits and include in the list, an order known by the name of *Sōnums*. The word *Sōnum* is, therefore, used in a general sense when applied to any deity or spirit and in a restricted sense when applied to a particular order of deities and spirits.

A List of the Orders or Classes of Deities and Spirits.

- | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Sōnum-an-ji | 8. Daiyū-n-ji | 15. Jalbā-n-ji |
| 2. Bōnād-an-ji | 9. Rājā-n-ji | 16. Bulkā-n-ji |
| 3. Jñōnād-an-ji | 10. Pātarā-n-ji | 17. Radōb-an-ji |
| 4. Mannī-n-ji ¹ | 11. Kuārā-n-ji | 18. Ragā-n-ji |
| 5. Sunni-n-ji | 12. Adang-an-ji | 19. Jojō-n-ji |
| 6. Badōng-an-ji | 13. Mallā-n-ji | 20. Yoyō-n-ji |
| 7. Kittung-an-ji | 14. Bullū-n-ji | 21. Kulbā-n-ji |

(1) *Sōnum-an-ji* is the most important order to which belong the largest number of deities and spirits as detailed below. *-Sum(-an)* is generally added to the names irrespective of the sex of the deities and spirits; *boj(-an)*² is also used as an alternative to *-sum(-an)* irrespective of their sex, even in the case of deities, definitely known to be male, as, for example, *Uyung-boj-an*. This is rather confusing *-boj-an* in ordinary Sora language is used as a feminine suffix, e. g. *Gamang-boj-an* (the wife of a Gamang), *dukkarī-boj-an* (an old woman). The use of *-boj(-an)* as in these cases shows that it is a contracted form but no Sora could mention the word of which this might be a contracted form. Since it is used irrespective of sex as in *Uyung-bōj-an*, and the principal word of which this could be a contracted form cannot be determined, I am led to infer that this is probably a variant of *bong(-an)*, contraction of *bongan* (cf. *bongā*, deity in almost all the languages of the Kol-Munda group).

The deities and spirits that can be mentioned under this order are :—

- Bābā-Sum:³ (from the Oriyas) a favourable deity of recent origin.
- Badōng-Sum (vide under Badōnganji)
- Bālū-Sum (a hill deity)
- Banumbā-Sum (ant-hill deity)
- Barū-Sum (a hill deity, vide under Badōnganji)

1. The nominal suffix is only *-n* after a vowel and *-an* after a consonant.
2. When *-boj* is used without the nominal suffix *-an*, it is pronounced as *-boi*.
3. *-an*, the nominal suffix is left out for the sake of economy of space.

Lurni-Sum (same Jallia-Sum)

Māda-Sum (=loft deity)

Mādī-Sum (a hill deity; *lit.* one measure deity; of Jhalarsing; the reference is to a hill which is shaped like one measure vessel.)

Mid-diā-Sum (same as above; *mid-diā-bur* is the Sora word, changed into Deogiri by the Hindus, the hill to the north of Parlakimedi).

Mandua-Sum (a deity to be worshipped by the village at the shed built for the purpose)

Mangdārā-Sum (*lit.* Tuesday deity; of recent foreign origin)

Manni-Sum (a hill deity; vide under Manninji)

Mardi-Sum (Tel. Maridi=cholera of recent origin)

Mordi-Sum (Oriya, moho-āde=near the mahwa tree)

Orub-Sum (=the setting deity, the deity of the evening)

Rankā-lō-Sum (same as kinā-lō-sum=waste land deity)

Ratud }
Ratūna }-Sum (a malevolent deity causing pain in the neck)
Ratur }

Rāud-Sum (=catalepsy-deity)

Rugā-boi (=Small-pox deity)

Rūleng-Sum (a malevolent deity)

Sardā-sum } (a deity worshipped by a class of Soras, known
Sardāyā-Sum } as Sardā-sōr)

Sattirā-Sum (a deity worshipped in Kolakotta for good crops, when the paddy is sprouting)

Sutār-kad-Sum } (a deity causing tuberculosis)

Sutār-kan-Sum }

Tabardā-Sum (=banyan tree-deity)

Tadeng-dang-Sum (=piled pots-deity)

Tadi-dang-Sum (=small cup-shaped-pot-deity)

Tambā-Sum (=forenoon deity)

Tāngōl-bōb-Sum (*lit.* press-leaf-head-deity; a deity supposed to be seated on the top of a bundle of pressed leaves, stored in the house)

Tang-gōr-bā-Sum (=wayside deity)

Tonai-Sum (=Sorcery-deity)

Tuttum-Sum (=blood sucker deity)

Ujññūdā-Sum (same as Ijññūdā-sum)

Ural-bā-Sum (an evil spirit)

Uyung-bāj-an (the Sun)

(2) *Bonudanji*. The Soras include *Dōnūdanji* in the list but none of them could mention at least one deity or spirit which definitely belongs to this order. I have nevertheless regarded it as an important order because *Bōnūd* is frequently added to *Sonum* and to

Rēgam (=medicine) to form the tag words,¹ *Sōnum Bōnād*, *Rēgam-Bōnād*. Though less frequently and not all over the Sora Country it is also added to *Jñōnād* (vide below order 3) to form the tag word *Jñonad-Bōnād*.

(3) *Jñōnādanji*. This seems to be an order of spirits to which belong *Gusada-jñōt*,² *Kusallī-jñōt* and *Panosi-jñōt* 3. The first of these is worshipped every time an *adur* is celebrated. The second is named after *Kusallī* which means a vegetable, *Luffa aegyptica*; because it causes anæmia as a result of which the body of the afflicted person assumes the shape of the vegetable. The Sora word for anæmia is again *Kasalli* which comes from the name of the spirit. The third is a benovelent spirit. It requires no special worship or offerings.

(4) *Manninji* and (5) *Sunninji* are mentioned together as hill spirits. There are innumerable *Manninji* and *Sunninji* all over the Sora country, always residing on the hills. The Soras think of them first at every ceremony, rite or festival. In the invocations of the spirits and deities with which they start any religious function, they generally begin with these two names. No special or exclusive worship is marked out for them. They are supposed to be generally benevolent. The Sora language has a word, *Mānnē*,⁴ which means to be docile, obedient or respectful. There is a deity by the name of *Mānnē-Sum* mentioned under *Sōnumanji*. It is also believed to be on the hills. It plays an important part at the time of seances. The person who falls into a trance and communicates to the consultants the message of the spirits and ghosts is helped by *Mānnē-Sum*. This is a deity which should, therefore, be worshipped by every person who desires to communicate with deities and spirits. He succeeds in his trade when he gains control over this deity.

(6) *Badōnganji* (or the simpler form *Bonganji*) also belong to the hills. When asked to explain the difference between this order and the previous two orders, one Sora priest said that there would generally reside on very high hills. The word '*badōngan*' seems to be an archaic word meaning a high hill or mountain. It occurs in some old songs along with some other archaic expressions. It is still used by the Soras of some of the inner most parts of the Sora country, particularly in some compounds like *a-sanbidi-bōngan*⁵ (=the lower part of a high hill). *Bonga* is an interesting word in

1. These tag words are like Lurly-burly, higgledy-piggledy.

2. *Jñōt* in the contracted form of *Jñōnād*.

3. *Panosi* comes from *Posi* =to protect. cf. skt *pōsh*.

4. cf. *mannana* (=respect), *manninchu* (=show regard, excuse) in Telugu.

5. *bongan* is the contracted form of *badōngan*.

the languages of the Kol-Munda Group. The Santalis, Mundaris and other kindred tribes in Chota Nagpur call their deities 'bongas' and 'Sing-bonga' the Sun god stands at the head of their pantheon. The Soras also have *Sing-bong* (=the Sun god).

The Sora word for hill is *buru-n* and its contracted word is *bur*. It is also used to mean "forest on the hill sides" cf. Santali, Mundari, Birhor and Ho—*buru*, *bir* = forest, jungle, also hill; Bahnar, Khmer, Stieng—*bri*, *uberi*; Magyar—*birke*, *berek*. The word used by the Gutobs (Gadabas), a kindred tribe of the southern group near the Sora country, is *birong* = hill, mountain.

It is very interesting to note that *birong* of the Gutobs supplies the connecting link between the two groups (1) *buru*, *buru*, *bur*, *bir* and (2) *badong*, *bonga*, *bong*. While the words of the first group are used to mean hill etc., the words of the second group are used to mean 'deity.' But the Soras, who have *Sing-bong* (=the Sun god) and *badong-an-ji* as an order of deities, also use the word *badon-an* and its contracted form *bong-an* in the sense of 'a high hill.' Let us see if *buru-n* is any where used to mean a deity. Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy says (*Vide The Mundas and Their Country*, p. 469, foot note) "The original signification of the word '*Buru*' was 'God' and in that sense, the name would apply to *Sing Bonga* (who was perhaps the original *Marang*² *Buru* or the great God). But that sense of the word is now obsolete. And the name *Buru Bonga* is applied to a spirit "who resides in the hills."

The Kols use *buru* in the sense of god as well as hill as in *Marang Buru* also worshipped by them. (*Vide Castes and Tribes—Central Provinces, KOL.* para 12). "Next to him (*Sing-Bonga*) comes *Marang Buru*, the mountain god who resides on the summit of the most prominent hill in the neighbourhood. Animals are sacrificed to him here and the heads left and appropriated by the priest. He controls the rainfall and is appealed to in time of drought and when epidemic sickness is abroad." It should be noted that *marang* means 'great' as in the Mundari, Birhor and other languages of the group, and it is *buru* that indicates that the god is a mountain god. Since the original sense of the word *buru* namely god has become obsolete, the Mundaris add *bonga* to *Buru* and *Marang buru* and call them *Buru-bonga* and *Marang buru bonga*.

Birong of the Gutobs and *Badong* of the Soras are identical words since 'r' and 'd' are interchangeable in pronunciation as in the dialects of many other languages. *Buru* or *Bur* or *Bir* of *Birong*

1. The word for Sun is *Sijñ* in Santali, and Gutob; *Singi* in Mundari and Remo; *ka sh'ngai* in Khasi.

2. *Marang* is also a Sora word meaning "to grow, prosper, and increase."

was originally used to mean 'deity' and is now used to mean 'hill.' *Bong* and *Bonga* (as in the case of the Sora language), were originally used widely and are still used rarely to mean hill; they are now widely used to mean deity.

From this it may be inferred that there was a time when the ancestors of the Kol-Mundas used the same word for hill and god, and subsequently the differentiation in thought led to the differentiation in the derivatives of the word.

The explanation given above accounts for the inclusion of *Badonganji* in the orders or classes of Sora deities and spirits.

Besides the general class of *Badonganji*, there are (*Vide* List under *Sonumanji*), *Badong Sum* and *Baru Sum* but no Sora could tell me of any special worship or importance either in the case of these two deities or in the case of the general order of *Badonganji* except that they are enumerated along with the other orders or classes in their invocations and chantings.

(7) *Kittunganji* constitute a class of deified heroes or demigods in human form and some of them belong to the Hindu Puranas. The number of the *Kittungs* is variously given as seven, nine and eleven.

The names of the eleven *Kittungs* are (1) *Argattā* (2) *Bimmā* (3) *Garsādā*, (4) *Jagantā*, (5) *Jode-pālā*, or *Jode-bullā*, (6) *Muttā*, (7) *Peda* or *Petra-mad-lung*, (8) *Rammā*, (9) *Rung-rung*, (10) *Tetē* and (11) *Tumannū*. *Argattā* is considered to be the brother-in-law of the remaining ten *Kittungs*. Some of the Soras particularly those that have come into contact with the people of the plains identify *Argattā* with Krishna; *Bimmā* with Bhima of the Pāṇḍavas and *Rammā* with Rama, son of Dasaratha.

To the eleven *kittungs* may be added *Sūtī-birādi* and *Sittā-bōjan*, both regarded as sisters of the ten *Kittungs* mentioned above. How *Rammā* and *Bimmā* could be brothers and how *Rammā* and *Sittā-bōjan* could be brother and sister no Sora could explain. Among the traditional accounts and the stories of the Sora Folklore, there are references to the visit of Rama and Sita to their country and of Sabari who offered fruit to and was honoured by Rama. The *Sittā-bōjan* spoken of as the sister of the *Kittungs* is probably different from Sita. *Sittā-bōjan* is frequently coupled with *Siri-bōjan* (the goddess of wealth). The Soras have a story which says that *Sittā-bōjan* was forced to marry a tiger and had by him seven cubs and that her brothers disliked the union and killed six cubs. The one that survived was lame by one leg and it was called *kunṭi-kidan-an*.¹

1. *Kunṭi* is a Telugu word meaning lame, borrowed by the Soras, *kidan* is the contracted form of *kinan* = tiger.

Sacrifices are offered to this *kunt-kid-an* once a year after the harvest of the main crop and the ceremony is known as *kinā-pur* (=worship of the tiger), *Kinā-Sum* is mentioned among the Sonums (*Vide List*).

A few other disconnected stories and traditional accounts about the *Kittungs* have come down to the present day and are known only to a few persons particularly to the *Kudāns*, the priests. These stories and accounts seem to be the surviving relics of a mythology which the stories had developed in the past. *Lingi-n* is mentioned as the maternal uncle of the ten *Kittungs* mentioned above.

The general belief among the Soras all over the present Sora country is that the *Kittungs* came from *Oḍisā-Mainḍūra*. *Oḍisā* is Orissa and *Mainḍūra* is probably Mahendra hill near Mandasa in Ganjam District. The *Kittungs*, as the Soras tell us, lived in the Sora country for a long time and went away to the *Basēng-dēsa*.¹ (=Salt country), by which they mean the country towards the sea. They get the salt they require from this country and as it lies to their south, the Sora word for south is *basengan-a-Seng* (=salt side).²

From the accounts of the *Kittungs*, we gather that they were masters and lords of the Sora country during the time they stayed there and even the *Sonums* were rendering service to them. They left the country not on account of any ill-feeling or quarrel but of their own free will, and when they left it, the *Sonums* escorted them, carried their luggage on the way, and returned to the Sora country after the *Kittungs* reached the seacoast.

The memory of the *Kittungs* is preserved in every Sora house. They find a place in the paintings on the walls. Since they are demi-gods in human shape, they are represented as men.

The Soras say that the *Kittungs* were cannibals and point to a rocky bed of a brook near Gumma³ which they call *Onol-tāl-an* (=mortar-bed) and say that it was the mortar in which the *Kittungs* used to pound human bones. They say that the *Kittungs* also ate beef and point to a hill near Gyba,⁴ known as *Jum-tang-bur* (=eat-cattle-hill) and tell us that it was the hill where the *Kittungs* lived for some time and ate beef. Whenever the Soras experience any severe calamity and learn from divination that it is due to the wrath of the *Kittungs*, a cow or a bull is sacrificed to propitiate them. This seems to be the only occasion when a cow or bull is sacrificed for an offering. There is another high hill at a distance of about

1. *dēsa* is a borrowed word.

2. The sea is really to the south east of the Sora country.

3. Gumma is a village on the hills, 12 miles north of Parlakimedi.

4. Gyba is a village 16 miles n. w. of Parlakimedi

eight miles north of Parlakimedi, called *Mid-dia-bur*¹ which is also supposed to be the abode of the *Kittungs*. There are at the foot of this hill, some worn out cylindrical blocks of rough stone of about three to four feet in height. They are believed to be the stones into which the deities attached to the *Kittungs* were transformed after the *Kittungs* left the place. The Soras believe that whenever these deities feel that they are neglected, these blocks of stone assume an inclined position to signify their wrath. The Soras then offer milk² and liquor to appease their wrath and restore their erect position. The offering of milk is as unique as the sacrifice of a cow or a bull because the use of milk or beef is tabooed except on these occasions.

The Soras point to a heap of pillar like stones at *Tarum-Sun* (=heap of pillars) near Gumma and say that in olden days a number of wooden posts were one night brought by the *Kittungs* who wanted to build a big house there and the wooden posts were transformed into stones at cock crow. The *Kittungs* went away leaving the stones behind them. There is, however, no religious importance attached to them.

Between Gumma and Serung, there is an extensive rocky bed which from a distance looks like a cultivated land. The place is called *Ordum-du* (ploughed). This is supposed to be a field cultivated by the *Kittungs* during their stay there and to have become rocky after they left the Sora country. Near Sar-Sāng, a village in Gumma *muthā*, there is a stone presenting the appearance of a drum and it is called *Kadib-ar* (=drum stone). It is believed to be a big drum used by the *Kittungs*. Near the same village, there are small yellow coloured stones scattered over a large area and they are believed to be turmeric pieces used by the *Kittungs*. Whatever had been used by the *Kittungs* was transformed into stone after they left the Sora country. Such ætiological myths have been very popular all over the Sora country.

Of *Bimmā* and *Rammā*, the former is supposed to be the elder and progenitor of the Soras and the latter, the younger and progenitor of the men of the plains. Consequently the Soras think that they are superior to the men of the plains. The Soras, particularly the orthodox priests do not take food from the hands of the men of the plains—not even from the hands of the Brahmans.

Though *Kittungs* played an important part in the religious history of the Soras, none of the eleven *Kittungs* mentioned above

1. The modern name Devagiri comes from the Sora word *dia-bur* (lit. waist-hill); *mid* = one.

2. Milk is never offered to any of the Sora deities because the use of milk is tabooed and no Sora drinks it

is particularly worshipped. But they have among the *Sonums*. *Kittung-Sum* also and have provided for it a definite course of worship as in the case of many other *Sonums*. No Sora could tell me which of the *Kittungs* enumerated above was meant by this *Kittung-Sum*. In the opinion of a Sora priest of Serung—an old man, Limpo by name, the Soras included in their pantheon *Kittung-Sum*, as a spirit representing the class of *Kittungs*. Some Soras have included under *Kittungs*, *Kambū-tung* (=the bear god), *Jambū-mad-tung* (=rose-apple-eye-god).

The word *Kittung* has an interesting and noteworthy importance. While *bonga* connected with the order of *Badonganji* is the word for god in Santali, Mundari and other languages of the northern group, *Kitung* and *Kitu-on* connected with the order of *Kittunganji* are the words for god in the southern group—*Kitung* in Pareng and Remo and *Kitu-on* (=god's son) in Gutob.

(8) *Daiyun-ji*¹ constitute a class of superhuman beings. The following *daiyus* are mentioned:—

*A-dōng-an-daiyu*² (=Body d.) i. e. daiyu with a body.

A-Jadang-daiyu (=mature d.)

Kāndedēng-daiyur (=noisy-d.)

*Pattikā-daiyu*³ (=a kind of tree-d.)

Ranā-daiyu (=golden-d.)

Sar(on)-daiyu (=corn-d.)

Sutāng-ar-daiyu (=big stone d.)

From the literal meanings of the words, it may be inferred that each *daiyu* has a characteristic feature about it. But no definite information could be had about any of them nor about the class in general. The *Daiyunji* are included in the list of deities and spirits at the time of invocation.

(9) *Rājān-ji* (from Skt. *rājā* = king). This class includes the names of the kings who were deified by the Soras—*Darammā-rājā* *Gulusū-r.*, *Gurbādū-r.*, *Indurā-r.*, *Pattikā-r.*, *Sindām-a-r.*, *Sōdanga-r.*

The first is apparently from Skt. *Dharma* or *Dharma-raja* of the Aryan mythology of India. This deity will be described later on, under Sora belief in a Supreme Deity.

No Sora could give me any definite information about any of the other *rājānji*; nor is there any worship provided for them. *Pattikā-r.* is the same as *Pattika-daiyu*. Along with *Gurbādū-r.* is also mentioned *Gurbādī-boi*. Both seem to be the king and queen

1. *cf. Telugu—*dayyam* which means god in classical Telugu and ghost in modern Telugu.

2. *daiyu* has no contracted form.

3. The name of a tree not identified. It is called *ānemu* tree in Telugu.

whatever be their domain. *Gurbādā* is another form of *Gurbārā* (Skt. *Guru vā(sa)ra*, Thursday). Persons, born on Thursday are named after the name of the day. But nothing more could be said of the deity. *Indūrā-r.* may be either the Raja of Indore or Indra. *Sōdanga-r.* is believed to be Chodanga (Choda ganga) Deo, a king of the Kalinga Desa belonging to the Ganga race. *Sōdanga* is worshipped in some localities; it is propitiated in cases of wounds and illness.

(10) *Patārānji* (from Skt. *pātra*) Patrōs had authority over provinces in Ancient and Medieval Hindu polity in the Oriya country and some of them who had control over the Soras might have been deified on account of their importance or special merit. *Bennu-p.* is the only deity of this class that could be mentioned to me. No worship is definitely marked out for even this deity.

(11) *Kuāran-ji* I could have no information about this order.

(12) *Ad-angan-ji* Ad-ang-an in. Sora means kite or vulture. Some Soras say that *Garuda* is intended to be included on this order of deities. Some others say that spirits that hover in the sky are meant by this name. No special name is given of any deity that belongs to this class.

(13) *Mallānji* (skt. *malla* = athlete, wrestler). *Ganga-malla* and *Sur-malla* are the two deities mentioned. *Ganga-malla* is variously interpreted. Some say that he is the messenger of *Jamma-Sum* (the god of death) and some others say that he was a servant of the *Kittungs*. *Sur-malla* (skt. *Sura* = hero) is the name of a hero but no body knows who he was. No worship is marked out for any of these two *Mallanji*.

(14) *Bullunji*¹ *Bullu* is also the name of a deity of this class. It is supposed to be the cause of headache. To propitiate this deity, fowls and goats are sacrificed and liquor and cloth are offered. *Gayara-bullu* is a female deity. She is believed to prevent pregnant women being safely delivered if she is not propitiated in the offerings of goats, fowls, rice and liquor. She does not require pigs or cloth.

(15) *Jalbānji* and (16) *Bulkānji* are always chanted together in invocations. *Sur-jalba* is the only name mentioned; but no definite information could be had, either regarding this deity or the two orders of deities.

(17) *Radōbanji* and (18) *Raganji* are always chanted together in invocations. No particulars could be had about any of these two orders.

1. The origin is doubtful.

(19) *Jojonji* and (20) *Yoyonji* are the ancestral spirits, the former means grand fathers and the latter grand mothers.

These two orders are mentioned together generally after all the other orders are mentioned in the invocations.

•(21) *Kulbanji* human souls, set free after the death of the body do not really deserve to be called spirits, nor can they ever be deities until and unless the *guār* is performed. They are, however, mentioned here because they are on their way to become ancestral spirits—either *jojonji* or *yoyonji* according to the sex to which they belonged during their life time on earth. The firm belief of the Soras is that the souls of the deceased persons leave the body, remain as *kulbas* till the *guār* is over and as a result of the *guār* enter the world of the ancestral spirits. They remain there for ever and respond to the call of their kinsmen whenever they are invoked. It is believed that as long as the souls of the deceased remain as *kulbas* they hover about in the vicinity of the house where their bodies perished, rest on the branches of the trees and eagerly look forward to the day of the *guār*. They can see and hear; they have hunger and thirst but they can neither be seen nor heard. They appease their hunger by eating whatever is thrown out by their kinsmen in the house and allay their thirst by drinking the water in the open space. They have a sense of discrimination; they do not touch any food or water in the house. If the *guār* is delayed they appear to their kinsmen in their dreams; and say "It is two years since our human bodies perished and how long do you keep us as *kulbas*?" The Soras realise that *guār* should be performed as early as possible after their kinsmen left their bodies but since *guār* is a very expensive ceremony, they generally put it off, for about two years, so that all the bereaved families in the village may combine and perform the *guār* together. Many items of expenditure are thereby minimised.

The Soras are very particular to see that *guār* is performed sooner or later in the case of any Sora that is dead. There may be, though very rarely, a case of a person who dies leaving behind no kinsmen to perform his or her funeral rites and the ultimate *guār*. The Soras of the village, in which such a death occurs, realise that it is their duty to get the rites performed somehow or other. They find some one who may have some sort of relationship near or distant, contribute to the expenses and get everything done in the usual manner. There may be, still, cases of souls that have had no funeral rites. Such souls remain as *kulbas* hovering about in the vicinity of the village to which their bodies belonged. The tradition about such *kulbas* is that they catch hold of children when they are alone in the forest or in the open space on the outskirts of the

village. When such children die on the spot, the general belief among the Soras is that they are "swallowed" by the *kulbas*. The Sora word 'mō' which literally means "swallow" is used. By using this word, the Soras do not really mean to say that the body is swallowed. The idea is that the essence of life is swallowed.

Some Sora *kudāns* who have a speculative mind, in the field of Metaphysics, think that some of the *sonums* particularly the evil spirits must have been the *kulbas* of the bygone ages.

SORA NOTION OF A SUPREME DEITY.

Mr. Fawcett writes:¹ "There is no idea of a supreme and beneficent Creator of all things. Here is a story which was told to me in a Saora village close to, in fact part of one of the Oriya forts. 'Derema,' a deity who lives on Deodonger (the highest hill in the neighbourhood, 4,535 ft.) long ago brought a man and woman from a village called "Peraithung"² promising them land, good crops, food, and everything and all the Saoras are descended from this pair. In the village where I heard this story, Derema is said to be always beneficent. This story is probably of Uriya or Pano origin and is not current elsewhere; about Kolakotta and indeed in the other parts where the Saoras have been free from Hindu influence, nothing is known of a beneficent deity. They have no notion of any deity of whom they will ask anything in expectation of their request being answered through love."

Mr. Fawcett failed to recognise that Derema (more correctly Daramma) mentioned above is the same as Dharma (Daramma, as pronounced by the Soras) which he mentioned on page 244 in his article. Under the head of "Dharma Boja, Lankan, Ayungang—The Sun," he writes, "The first name is, I think of Uriya Origin and the last the real Saora name. There is an idea in the Kollakotta country, that it causes all births. This deity is not altogether beneficent and causes sickness and may be driven away by sacrifices like the meanest spirit. In some villages, this deity is almost the only one known.....In some parts, the Sun is not a deity."

Mr. Fawcett is not well informed on the subject. *Dharma-bōja* ought to be *Darammā-bōj* or *Darammā-bo-an* (with -an, the personal suffix). *Ayungang* ought to be *Uyung-an* (or a -yung, the first syllable being unaccented). It is also known as *Uyung-bōj-an*. Though the Sun is regarded by the Soras as male and as the father

1. Vide his article on the "Saoras" (Sōrās) published in Vol. I. No. 4 of the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, 1888, page 248.

2. In the foot note, here, Mr. Fawcett writes "I never found any one who pretended to have an idea of the situation of this place."

of the Stars while the Moon is their mother (*Vide* SORA FOLKLORE, Appendix), *-bōjan* is added; either because *-bōj* here is not the feminine suffix but a variant of *bonga* used in all the other languages of the Kol-Munda group in the sense of deity or because the Sora deities are generally regarded as female and the feminine suffix *-bojan* is indiscriminately added to the names of the deities. *Lankān* means 'above' and as synonymous with *Daramman* and *Uyungan* refers to the position of the Sun in the sky. Mr. Fawcett is not correct in saying "in some villages, this deity (i. e. the Sun) is almost the only one known" and "in some parts, the Sun is not a deity." I know of no village in the Sora country where the Sun is almost the only deity known or where the Sun is not recognised as a deity. As it is known by different names and as each locality of the Sora country is generally acquainted with only one of these names, the information which Mr. Fawcett had on this point was probably confusing to him. Neither the name of *Daramma* nor the story connected with this deity is necessarily of the Oriya or Pano origin. The Bhuiyas of the Kol-Munda family of the Central Provinces, probably the progenitors of the Buyyas among the Soras, venerate the Sun as *Dharam Deota*.¹ The Oraons worship a supreme god who is known as Dharmes; him they invoke in their great difficulties when recourse to the village priests and magicians has proved useless. Then they turn to Dharmes and say 'Now we have tried everything but we have still you who can help us.' They sacrifice to him a white cock."²

Sing-Bonga of the Munda pantheon is the same as the Sun. "At the head of the Munda pantheon, Sir H. Risley states, stands *Sing-Bonga* or the Sun, a beneficent but ineffective deity who concerns himself but little with human affairs. But he may be invoked to avert sickness or calamity and to this end sacrifices of white goats or white cocks are offered to him."³

"The Hos (of the Kol-Munda family) worship *Sing-Bonga* who appears to be their supreme deity and they identify him with the Sun. He is worshipped on all important occasions and the Dussera day in the month of Asvin (September - October) is specially associated with the worship of *Sing Bonga* when sweets and vermilion are offered and a cock is sacrificed—its neck being torn asunder. He is also worshipped on the day on which the Hos first partake of the new rice. On the day when the date of a marriage is fixed, *Sing Bonga* is worshipped with *hāriya* and vermilion—the sacrifice of

1. *Vide* Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces—The Bhuiya—para 11.

2. " " " Oraon—para 15.

3. " Central Provinces—Castes and Tribes—Kol—para 12.

the cock being prohibited on this occasion. In cases of serious illness, offerings are made to him." ¹

"The Kheria's ideas about the Sun is that he is Dharma and he is a male." ² Among the Santals there is *Sing-Bonga* (=the Sun) also known as *Dharma*.

It may be said generally that all the Kol-Munda peoples have the Sun god, known by *Sing-Bonga* or a variant of *Dharma*.

The Soras also make mention of *Sing-Bong* as one of their deities and he is generally regarded as a hill deity because *badongan* of which *bong-an* is a contracted form, means a hill and *Badonganji* constitute an order of deities or Spirits connected with the hills. But there are many Soras who, when examined, definitely say that he is the same as the Sun god. The use of *Sing-bong* in the sense of Sun god is not now very popular because all the Soras use *Uyungan* to mean the Sun god. The Sun god is also known by several other names—*Darammā*, *Lankā*, *Gādēl* or *Gādēl(l)-jāng* with *-Sum-* or *-boj-* and *-an* (nominal suffix) added to the name. If one name is current in one part of the Sora Country, another is current in another part. In Jhalarsing (the eastern part of the Sora country) the deity is known as '*A daramma-sum*'. In the western parts, *Daramma-bojan*, *Uyungan* are the names used at the time of worship. In the central parts the name, *Gādēl-sum* or *Gādē-jāng* is very popular.

Whatever be the name used in the locality and whatever be the locality in which the deity is worshipped, the worshippers know that it is the Sun god that is worshipped and the details of worship are almost the same. Variations in names and minor differences in the details of worship can easily be explained.

Uyungan is directly the name of the Sun. *Lankan* literally meaning 'up', 'above', 'high' refers to the position of the Sun with reference to earth. When asked to locate the abode of the 'deity—by whatever name it may be known, the Soras readily say "*ruāngan*" (=sky).

Daramma is apparently from Skt. *Dharma*. It must have been borrowed and applied to the Sun god long ago when all the Kol-Munda tribes were living together so that even after they were scattered they could continue the name for the deity. The currency of the name with its implications may be due to diffusion. Even if this view is accepted it must be said that the diffusion took place long ago, for, otherwise we cannot account for its wide currency

1. Vide University of Calcutta— Anthropological papers— The Hos of Sarai-kella; Part I, page 58.

2. Vide Census of India 1931, Part III.—B. p. 111.

among all the Kol-Munda tribes. *Daramma* is ordinarily used in the Sora language to mean kindness, pity, charity as well as justice and *Daramma-Sum* is believed to be endowed with these qualities.

Daramma-raja is mentioned under the order of the *Rajānji*. The ordinary Sora does not know anything about either *Dharma-raja* (=Yama) the Hindu god of Death or *Dharmī-raja*, Yama's son and the eldest of the Pāṇḍus. Some of the Sora priests that have come into close contact with the Hindus of the plains are now disposed to identify him with the Pāṇḍu king rather than with the god of Death. In recent years the Soras included under Sonums, *Jammā-Sum* (=the god of Death) which is apparently from the Hindu *Yama* through the Oriyas who pronounce like all North Indians *Y* as *J*. Whatever be the conception of *Daramma-rāja*, *Darammā* (-bōj or sum) refers to the Sun-god because, it is said to be the same as *Lankan* and *Uyungan* and its abode is said to be *ruṅgan* (-the sky).

The name, *Gādēl-sum* or *Gādēl-jūngan* requires some explanation. No Sora could explain the derivation of the words in the compound, *Gādēl-jūngan* though some priests could tell me that it meant the Creator. The Sora word *gadēl* means 'to come about,' 'to evolve' and its causative form is *gadēl* which is frequently used to mean 'to create'. *Gaddēl* becomes *gadēl* with the shortening of the consonantal sound *d* and the compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel sound *a*. The final consonantal sound is feebly heard or not heard at all in many Sora words, and that accounts for the dropping of *l* in *Gādē-jūng*. The word *jūngan* is an old Kol-Munda word used not only in Sora but also in Santali, Mundari, Birhor and all other languages of the Kol-Munda group. It is used in many senses including seed, kernel, stone of fruit, bone, wood, fibres, stalk etc. *Jūngādān* is an old Sora word used in incantations to mean life. The word *jūng* in the compound *Gādēl-jūngan* may, therefore, be understood to mean life-giving seed or essence. Since *gadēl* itself conveys the idea of creating *jūngan* may be superfluous and that is probably the reason why some Soras call the deity *Gādēl-Sum* which means the Creator. Some Soras who desire to emphasise the source of life use *Gādēl-jūng* in the sense of *Life-giving Creator*. That *Gādēl-Sum* or *Gādēl-jūng* refers only to the Sun may be inferred from the following data. Its abode is said to be *ruṅgan*, the Sky; the nature of the worship is practically the same as for *Uyungan* or for *Daramma*. At the time of worship, it is absolutely necessary that there should be a drawing of the Sun on the wall near the place of worship. Those that worship the deity under the simpler name of *Gādēl-Sum* have an additional drawing of a Snake probably to represent the eclipse of the Sun which the Soras believe to be due to the periodical swallowing of the Sun by a

Snake. The eclipse of the Sun as well as of the Moon is explained by the Soras in the same way with reference to a story in their Folklore (*Vide Appendix*). The story is such that it does not deprive the Sun and the Moon of their superior position. It is a gift of the Sun granted to the Snake. "Make a show of swallowing us" said the Sun to the Snake "and the people on earth will make plenty of offerings to you". The Sun deity is supposed to cause all births. The principal idea that the Sun is the Creator is clearly suggested in the worship of *Uyung-boj-an*. The deity is worshipped in the house immediately before or after marriage at any time between 8 a.m. and 3 p.m.¹ Only women or both women and men together but not men alone should worship the deity. It is also believed by the Soras that this deity interferes with delivery either by delaying it or by making it difficult.

Whatever be the name of the deity, the animals to be sacrificed are a white goat, a white cock and a pig. It is very interesting to note that all the tribes of the Kol-Munda group sacrifice a white cock when they worship this deity whether it is called *Sing-bong* or *Dharmes*. The sacrifice of a white goat is made by some and not by all but the colour of the goat wherever this animal is sacrificed in the case of this deity must be white and not black.

The Sun god is generally considered to be superior to all other deities and to be capable of controlling them. I am told that in cases of long standing or chronic diseases, the Soras worship the Sun god and say "we have worshipped all other deities and spirits and tried all other means in vain. We now look up to you. You can control all diseases and those that cause them. Make this sick man well and happy".

From what is stated above, it is clear that the Soras have a conception of the Creator—a supreme deity but their conception which does not take them beyond the Sun falls short of the Christian or Muhammadan or Hindu theistic conception of the Omnipotent, Omnipresent, Omniscient and All powerful God. In recent years, the Soras have learnt to use *Māprūn* (Skt. *Mahāprabhu*) and *Paramēśaran* (Skt. *Paramēśvar*) from the Hindus of the plains and the Christian Missionaries. They have realised that these words have a wider connotation than *Gādē-jāng* or any other name that can denote no more than the ethical aspect of *dharma*, the life giving or creative element of nature and the commercial aspect of bestowing favour as a requital for the offerings received. The use of these foreign words is very significant. It shows that the Soras felt that there

1. Among the Hcs, *Sing-Bonga* should be worshipped on the day on which the date of the marriage is fixed.

could be no word in their language to express this new conception. In the chapter relating to the Sora language, it will be shown that the Sora language is elastic enough to serve as a vehicle of new ideas and thoughts and that, therefore, the Soras would not ordinarily borrow words unless they felt the need for them.

On closer examination I have found that the Soras though they have learnt to use *Māprūn* and *Paramēsaran*, they have not yet acquired the idea of an All merciful and benevolent Supreme Being; because a sacrifice is *conditio sine qua non* for obtaining a favour from any deity or spirit and the general belief of the Soras is that all the deities or spirits have a natural disposition to be malignant; they are greedy and exacting and they are always of an irascible temperament; none of them takes notice of any ethical merit or sin on the part of man; each is interested in itself—it punishes those that offend or neglect it and favours those that propitiate it by sacrifices but the favour shown does not go beyond the removal of the evil caused by it.

ETHICAL MERIT AND SIN

The Soras consider one to be a *hangsā-mar* (=good man) who is ordinarily of good temper and who generally observes the customary formalities, ceremonials, rites and festivals. *Ukkā* is the Sora word used for custom and it may be used for what is normal. A person who fails to observe the *Ukkā* is considered to be a *runkā-mar* (=bad fellow). An act which is considered to be offensive to the deities is regarded as *ersi*—a worse infringement of good conduct than failing to observe the *Ukkā*. *Ersi* may be construed to denote the idea of Sin. The punishment for an act of *ersi* is meted out by the offended deity or spirit. Acts of violation of *Ukkā* are of different types. Some are inoffensive as alteration in the dress or ornamentation, the wearing of gold ornaments. The delinquents meet with admonition by the elders. Some are offensive to the society, as for example, marrying a girl of the same village. The prohibition is based on the constitution of the village in olden times—when an expanded family constituted the village. So long as this state of things prevailed all the boys and girls belonged to the same patrilineal descent and the prohibition was, therefore, reasonable. But in recent years, the constitution of the village has undergone many changes and new families from other villages have been living in almost every village of the Sora Country. So two families of one and the same village are now entering into matrimonial alliance where one of them is definitely known to have come from another village. Even such an alliance is regarded as an offence against the well established *ukkā* and a nominal expiatory fine is imposed

on the parties entering into an alliance. The marrying of one's own sister or a girl of the same patrilineal descent is such a flagrant violation of *ukkā* that it amounts to *ersi*. It is not only a social offence but also a religious one; it is against the wish of the ancestral spirits. Hence, the offender should pay a *danḍa*, a fine and sacrifice a buffalo or a goat to propitiate the ancestral spirits and the *Sonums* in general.

Falsehood, theft, adultery (other than incest), slaughter are no doubt offences but they are not regarded as *ersi* as they are not offences against the deities and spirits. Nor are they offences against society. They are offences against individuals in the Society and it is the look out of the injured members of the Society to get redress and the elders in the villages help the injured to get compensation from the offenders. The case of murder is, however, a social offence and the murderer has to pay according to the decision of the elders in the village a fine to the bereaved family and sacrifice an animal to propitiate the ancestral spirits and the *Sonums* in general and distribute the flesh of the sacrificed animal as well as liquor among all the families of the village.

Though cases of murder are very frequent among the Soras it must be said to their credit that they are generally truthful and cases of theft and adultery are very rare among them. In cases of murder, the murderer does not attempt to deny the act even when no evidence can be produced in a Court of law and his advocate advises him to deny it. "Why should I speak a lie? I have done it" he says. Regarding a charge of adultery, he would say "I would never do it. If I wanted her and she wanted me, I would take her away and pay a fine and would have her after marrying her. Why should I waste my seed upon a soil, the fruit of which I could never claim?"

In these respects, the Sora is unsophisticated and is more virtuous than most men of the so-called civilized nations."

THE ALL SPREADING DISTRIBUTION OF THE DEITIES AND SPIRITS.

According to the Sora conception, every part of the world is filled with one or the other of the several *Sonums*. The sky (*ruṅgan* is the abode of *Uyungan* (also known as *Daramma*, *Gādē(l)-jāng* and *Lankā*). The moon (*Angāj-an*) is his wife and is known, when deified, by the borrowed name, *Sandrā-bōj-an* (Skt. *Chandra* = moon). Their children are the stars and planets (*tui-tuj-an*) of which the Venus (*Sunkra* from Skt. *Sukra*) has been raised to the status of a deity. *Ringe-boi* is the goddess of the wind; *Ganur-boi*, the goddess of rain. The forces and phenomena of nature are

regarded as the manifestations of the *Sonums*. *Ilim-bong-an* (rainbow) is a deity which indicates the break up of an epidemic disease.

Labō-Sum the goddess of earth and the physical earth is the abode of numerous deities and Spirits. *Budōngan-ji* is, as noticed above, an order of deities and Spirits belonging to the hills. *Baru-Sum* is a special deity pervading all the hills, with powers to foster or blight the crops raised there by *pōdu* or extensive cultivation. *Eldā-boj-an* that is believed to carry away and devour young girls, to cause or prevent conception and abortion, is regarded as an old elf or demoness and is supposed to have her headquarters on the hillside and to wander in the neighbouring woods or forests. *Kansē-Sum* is a hill deity, believed to have come in recent times from Udayagiri on the north eastern outskirts of the Sora Country to Serung and other western parts. *Mannin-ji* and *Sunnin-ji* are, as noticed above, orders of hill deities residing in all the hills. *Janāng-lo-Sum* (Skt. *jangala* = jungle) is the deity of the woods and forests. Every ant-hill is the abode of the *Banum-bā-Sum* (lit. the deity at the ant-hill). *Kannā-boj-an*, a very malevolent and terrible deity that causes epilepsy is believed to have her permanent abode on the trees in the forests. *Tangōre-bā-Sum* (lit. roadside deity) should be propitiated by the roadside, on the outskirts of the village lest it might enter the village and devour its inhabitants. Even the hedges or boundary stone walls round the village are considered to be sacred as they are the abode of *Kanti-ār-Sum* (lit. hedge-stone-deity). Every house or shed is the abode of a *Dakō-sung-boi* (lit. stay-house-deity) and every important part of the house has a special deity, named after and residing in it, viz., *Kutā-boi* at the hearth, *Mūdā-boi* on the loft, *Ganon-roi-al-Sum* (lit. caves of the thatched house-deity) at the caves and *Girnā-dā-Sum* at the threshold. The market place where the inhabitants of several villages meet is also the abode of a deity, known as *Bomēr-sum*. Mention is made of *Birūdi-Sum* (Tel. *Bidaru* = caravan), a deity which is believed to accompany every group of caravans. No caravan has ever visited the Sora country within the memory of the present generation but some old men of about sixty years of age remember their fathers and grandfathers narrating to them interesting accounts of the caravans visiting their country from the plains.

The Soras believe that there are various water deities living in the seas, tanks, rivers and streams, though I have heard of only one name, *Jodābā-Sum* (lit. the stream-by-deity).

Jamā-boj-an (Skt. *Yama*, the god of death) is evidently from the Hindus of the plains. This deity is believed to live in *Kijānrāi-desān* which stands for hell and which is located in the lower region of the world. Some Soras have no idea of the location of *Kijānrāi-desān*

and they loosely say that it is the abode of all the deities who have no other fixed abode and of all the ancestral Spirits. Many Soras have no idea of hell or heaven. They think that all the ancestral Spirits live together in one and the same place and that they are generally happy and well disposed towards their descendants on earth, always responding to their invocations. The ancestral Spirits even when they are not invoked sometimes visit on their own accord the houses in which they once lived. In every Sora house, therefore, there is at least one *Sönum-däng-an* (lit. deity-pot) hanging under the roof. It contains rice, a few chillies, onions or garlic, salt, a piece of ginger and a copper coin (a pice); it is covered lightly with a flat earthen lid. Another pot of the same description is noticed in some houses, set in a corner on three small stones. These two pots are daubed with termeric paste on the outer surface in all the Kāpu-Sora villages and also in some houses of the interior Agency tracts the inhabitants of which are in contact with the Kāpu-Soras. These pots are sacred because they are meant for the use of the ancestral Spirits. The pot hanging under the roof contains the things set apart for them and since, according to the belief of the Soras, the Spirits do not actually eat them but take in the essence, they may be kept raw or uncooked. But if the ancestral Spirits wanted cooked food, the second pot could be used by them and this is merely symbolic. The firm belief of the Soras is that if the ancestral Spirits visited and took the essence from the things put in the pots, everything there becomes tasteless because the essence is taken away. I enquired if any Sora ever tasted those things and found them to be really tasteless and several Soras gave me affirmative replies in emphatic tones. They also referred to other similar instances and experiences at the seances. The person who acts as the medium for communication with the deities and Spirits falls into a trance and is possessed by the deity or Spirit invoked and in response to the enquiries made by the interested persons that attend the seance, the invoked deity or Spirit speaks through the mouth of the person that is possessed by it. I attended one seance at which the invoked Spirit wanted liquor and a small pot of liquor was held before the mouth of the person that was possessed by the Spirit and he just inhaled the odour for half a minute and felt satisfied. I was then told that that was the way in which the Spirits or deities would eat or drink the things offered to them. I asked one of the Soras there to taste the liquor that had been offered to the Spirit and he tasted it. "It is without any taste or odour" he said. I am sorry that I could not attempt to verify the statement by tasting it myself as I had never tasted liquor and had no idea of its taste or odour.

(To be continued)

• PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KINGS OF ANDHRADESA.

I. SĀLAṆKĀYANA DYNASTY

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The Sālaṅkāyanas ruled over the Andhra country from about 300 A. D. to 450 A. D. with their capital at *Veṅgīpura*. This is modern Pedda-Vēgi or Vēgi, seven miles north of Ellore (Elūra of the grant) in the West Godavari District of the Madras Presidency. Yuang Cwang visited the kingdom of An-ta-lo i. e. Andhra whose capital was Ping-ki-lo i. e. Veṅgi. In the Telugu *Mahābhārata* of the 12th century, Rajahmundry has been called “*Nāyakaratnam*” of Veṅgi desa. Three Kings of this Dynasty are known to us from two inscriptions:—Vijaya Devavarman, Caṇḍavarman and Vijaya Nandivarman. The inscription of Vijaya Devavarman is in Old Prakrit (vide *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. IX, p. 56 ff). It has been edited by Dr. E. Hultzsch. I reproduce the text below.

Om

1. Sirī-Vijaya *Veṅgī purā*, Bhagavato
2. *Cittarathasāmi*-pādānu-
3. jjhātassa *bappa-bhattāraka*-pādabhattassa
4. parama-Māhessarassa *Sālaṅkāyanassa*
5. assamedhayājino
6. Mahārāja-sirī-Vijaya-*Deva-varmāssa*
7. vayanena Elūre mulūḍa-pamukho
8. gāmo bhāṇitavvo. Etassa
9. Ba[bhura]-sagottassa *Gaṇasammassa*
10. sundara-padesamhi bhūmi-niyattanān[ī]
11. vīsaṁ 20 gharatṭhānaṁ addhiya-manussānaṁ
12. duvaggāna ya gharatṭhānaṁ parihāra-rakkhaṇaṁ
13. samāṇattaṁ. Evaṁ savva-parihārehi parihari-
14. tavvo ya. Vijaya saṁvvaccharāṇi
15. terasa 10 3 Pauṣa-Kālapakkha-dasaṁ [10]
16. Saṣṭiṁ varṣa-sahasrāṇi svargge kriḍati bhūmidah
17. Ācchettā c ānumantā ca tānyeva narake vaset.
18. Bahubhir-vasudhā dattā bahubhis-cānupālita
19. Yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ tasya tasya tadā phala[m]

SANSKRIT TRANSLATION

1. Om Sñi-Vijaya-Veñgīpurād Bhagavatas (Bhagavac)
2. Citraratha-svāmi-pādānu-
3. dhyātasya pitṛ-bhartṛ-pādabhaktasya *
4. parama-Māheśvarasya Sālāñkāyanasya
5. asvamedhayājino
6. Mahārāja Sñi-Vijaya-Deva-varmaṇo
7. vacanena Elūre Muḷuḍa-pramukha-
8. grāmo bhaṇitavyah. Etasya
9. Babhru-sagotrasya Gaṇa-śarmanah
10. sundara-pradeśe bhūmi-nivartanāni
11. viṇṣati 20 gr̥hasthānam ārdhika-manuṣyānām
12. dvārgāṇāñ ca gr̥hasthānāñ parihāra-rakṣaṇāñ
13. samājñāptam. Evañ sarva-pariharaiḥ parihar-
14. tavyas ca. Vijaya-saṁvatsarāṇi
15. trayodaśa 10 3 Pauṣa-Kṛṣṇapakṣa-davami 10
16. Śaṣṭi varṣa-sahasrāṇi svarge kṛṇḍati bhūmidah
17. Ākṣeptā c-ānumantā ca tānyeva narake vaset
18. 19. as in the original.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION (by E. Hultzsch).

(lines 1—7). Om. From the prosperous and victorious Veñgī-pura. The villagers (lit. village) of Elūra headed by the *muḷuḍa*, must be addressed (*as follows*) by the word of the glorious *Mahārāja Vijaya-Devavarman*, the performer of horse-sacrifices, the *Sālāñkāyana*, the fervent *Māheśvara*, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (*his*) father (*and*) who meditates at the feet of the holy *Citaratha svāmin* :—

(Lines 8—13), “It has been ordered that to this *Gaṇaśarman* of the *Baḥbhura* [*gotra* (these have to be made over) twenty 20 *nivartanas* of land in a handsome locality, a house-site (*for himself*, *and*) a house-site for the men who receive half the crop and for (*his*) doorkeepers (*and*) that the immunities (*granted to him*) have to be protected (lit. the protection of the immunities from taxation, (Lines 13, 14). And thus he must be exempted with all immunities. (Lines 14, 15). (*In*) the victorious year thirteen 13 (*of the reign*), (*on*) the

* Perhaps it has to be rendered as “*Pitṛ-bhaṭṭāraka-.....sya.*” *Ed.*

tenth 10 *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pausa. (Lines 16—19 not translated by Hultzsch). The giver of land deports himself for sixty thousand years in heaven. He who confiscates or assents (to confiscation) shall dwell the same number of years in hell. Land has been given by many and has been continued in grant by many. He who for the time being becomes the master of the land, enjoys the fruit of it.

NOTES

1. Citrarathasvāmī — the name of an image. The site of the temple is still shown at Pedda-Vegi.
2. Māhesvara — a worshipper of Śiva.
3. Śālaṅkāyana — a descendant of Śālaṅku. Pāṇini's *Naṣṭādi-gaṇa* contains *Śālaṅku*.
4. Muḷuḍa — *muḷuḍa-panvukha-gāmo* corresponds to *mutyuda-sahitān grāmya(ā)n* of the Inscription of Vijaya-Nandi-varman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V, p. 176), where *mutyuda* may be correctly read as *muḷuḍa*. It is a Dravidian word, possibly old Telugu, apparently meaning the chief (*maṇḍala*) of the village. It may a *tadbhava* word from Sanskrit *maṇḍala*.
5. Niyattaṇa — Skt. *nivartana*, a measure of land. This word occurs in the Pallava and other grants.
6. Pausa — is a Sanskritism.
7. Ṣaṣṭim — influenced by Prakrit. Pali *saṭṭhim*.
8. ācchettā — Prakritic form of Skt. *ākṣeptā*.
9. Bahubhir etc. This and the previous verse are known as *Vyāsa-vākya* (the word of Vyāsa) and are generally put at the end of grants. This verse also occurs in the Prakrit Inscription of Cārudevi (*Ep. Ind.* VIII, 143). In other Inscriptions this verse reads differently in the first hemistich :—
“bahubhir vasudhā dattā rājabhih Śagarādibhih.”
10. The Sanskrit Inscription of Vijaya-Nandi-varman (*Ind. Ant.*, V, 176) begins almost exactly like this :—*Svasti, Vijaya-Veṅḡipurād Bhagavac - Citrarathasvāmī - pādānuddhyā (dhyā) to Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pādabhaktah parama-bhāgavatas-Śālaṅkāyano etc.*
12. The date of the grant is about 350 A. D.

LANGUAGE

The language is more akin to Pali than Prakrit. It, however, differs from Pali but agrees with Prakrit in the following points :—

(a) *ṇ* has been used instead of *n* (as in Prakrit) in the following words—Vayaṇena (Pali: vacanena); bhāṇitavvo (Pali: bhaṇitabbo); nyattaṇāni (Pali: nivattanāni); manussāṇaṃ (Pali: manussānaṃ); duvaggāṇa (Pali: duvaggānaṃ); saṃvaccharāṇi (Pali: saṃvaccharāni).

(b) *vv* has been used (as in Prakrit) in place of *bb* — bhāṇitavvo, pariharitavvo.

(c) Inter-vocalic single consonants have been elided (as in Prakrit) — Vayaṇenaya (Pali: ca); addhiya (Pali: addhika).

A PASSAGE IN THE ALLAHABAD PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

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The following passage is taken from lines 23 and 24, of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.¹

L. 23... ..*Daivaputra - Shāhi - Shāhānushāhi - Saka - Muruṇḍath*
Sāimhaḥakādibhiś-cha

L. 24*śrota-dvīpa - vāsibhar - ātmanivēdana - Kanyōpāyana*
dāna - garutmadaṅka - svavishayabhukti - śāsana yāchana ādyupāya -
sēvā - kṛita bāhu - vīrya - prasāra - dharaṇi - bandhasya

Fleet translated it as follows: ²

".....whose binding together of the (whole) world, by means of the amplitude of the vigour of (his) arm, was effected by the acts of respectful service, such as offering themselves as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, (giving) Garuḍa-tokens, (surrendering) the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting (his) commands, etc. (rendered) by the Daivaputras, Shahis, Shāhānushāhis, Śakas and Muruṇḍas, and by the people of Simhala and all (other) dwellers in islands....."

Some portions of the passage have been wrongly translated and interpreted by Fleet. The translation of the passage has been revised by the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal.³ But in interpreting the significance of the passage, Jayaswal also has gone too far. We propose to deal, in this paper, chiefly with the significance and meaning of '*ātmanivēdana - kanyōpāyana*' *dāna - garutmadaṅka - svavishayabhukti - śāsana yāchana*.

Fleet translated *ātmanivēdana* as 'offering themselves as sacrifices'. Fleet's translation seems to be beside the point, though not entirely wrong. The word *ātmanivēdana* can be translated as 'offering or submitting themselves' (to Samudragupta). It means personal submission, in a word.⁴ It may be taken in another sense also. The passage concerned, tells us of the ways in which the rulers like *Daivaputra-shāhi Shāhānushāhi* showed their homage to their lord, Samudragupta. It seems they used to come to the court of Samudragupta and report themselves to him that they were so and so, and that they came on such business as '*śāsana-yāchana*' etc. So *ātmanivēdana* may also mean this method of humbly

1. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, (C. I. I.) p. 18

2. *Ibid* p. 14.

3. *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. XVIII, 207-211.

4. *Ibid.* p. 208.

reporting themselves to Samudragupta. If this is the real meaning, the passage throws light on the procedure followed by subordinate allies of the Guptas, in expressing their homage. Personal submission or as the case may be, humbly reporting oneself to the kind notice of an overlord like Samudragupta, can be certainly taken as an act of homage, a means of service *ādhyupāya-sēva*. Thus this interpretation of *ātmanivēdana* throws light on court ceremonials of the Gupta age.

If *ātmanivēdana* formed the first means of expressing homage to Samudragupta, *Kaṇyōpāyanādāna* formed the second. Jayaswal has interpreted '*ātmanivēdana - kaṇyōpāyanādāna - garutmadāṅka - svarishayabhukti - śāsana - yāchana*' as follows :¹

"The first form of submission was that of offering themselves (*ātmanivēdana*) and the second consisted of two things: presenting (*upāyana*) unmarried girls and giving of daughters in marriage (*kaṇyādāna*). The third was the request (*yāchana*) which consisted of two matters: asking for charters for the currency of the Garuḍa coinage within the jurisdiction of their own territories and an application to enjoy the governments of their own respective countries [*'garutmadāṅka - svarishayabhukti - śāsana - yāchana*: asking for charters (*śāsana-yāchana*) for the use of the Garuḍa coin (*garutmadāṅka-bhukti*) and for the government of their own territories (provinces or districts, (*svarishayabhukti*))."

'*Garutmadāṅka*' had been translated by Fleet as '(giving) Garuḍa-tokens'. But this does not seem to be correct.² As Jayaswal has said, the controlling word of the passage, '*Garutmadāṅka - svarishaya - bhukti - śāsana - yāchana*' is '*yāchana*' (begging). So it is not necessary to bring in (giving) and 'surrendering' into the translation. Fleet added the words 'giving' (in 'giving Garuḍa-tokens') and 'surrendering' (in 'surrendering the enjoyment of their territories'), as he had mainly in his mind, the word '*sēva*'. He thought that service (*sēvā*) to Samudragupta was done by the kings mentioned, by giving Garuḍa-tokens, and by surrendering their territories to him. It will be further clear why Fleet brought in 'giving' and 'surrendering,' if we see that he translated '*śāsana - yāchana*' as (soliciting his (Samudragupta's) commands'. But though it is right that '*śāsana*' means command also, there is another meaning which is more appropriate here. As Fleet took '*śāsana*' to mean 'command', he translated '*śāsana - yāchana*' by itself, as 'soliciting (his) commands'. But '*śāsana*' here means a charter,¹ and '*śāsana - yāchana*' means 'begging for charter'. If it is accepted that '*śāsana*' here appropriately means a charter, it is not correct

1. See his '*History of India*' 150—350 A. D., p. 145.

2. J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XVIII, p. 208.

to translate 'śāsana - yāchana', by itself, as 'soliciting (his) commands'. Again, once we accept that 'śāsana' meant a charter here, the question at once arises, what kind of charter is it. So it is necessary to connect 'garutmadāṅka' and 'svavishayabhukti' with 'śāsana' as adjectival phrases. Hence it is wrong to translate them, *by themselves*, as 'giving Garuḍa-tokens', and 'surrendering the enjoyment of their territories'. There is no need to bring in 'giving' and 'surrendering' if we connect 'garutmadāṅka' and 'svavishayabhukti' as adjectival phrases with 'śāsana'. It is now clear that 'yāchana' is the controlling word of the passage and Fleet is wrong in bringing in 'giving' and 'surrendering' into it. The passage 'garutmadāṅka - svavishayabhukti-śāsana-yāchana' is inter-connected and must be translated *as a whole*.

Now, we must go in detail into the meaning of the passage. Fleet took 'garutmadāṅka' to refer to Gupta coinage.² Jayaswal also has taken it to refer to Gupta coins. But Jayaswal has translated the passage differently from Fleet. He has given two meanings to the passage 'garutmadāṅka - svavishayabhukti - śāsana-yāchana'; (1) asking for charters ('śāsana-yāchana') for the use of Garuḍa-coinage (garutmadāṅkabhukti) in their territories (svavishaya) (2) asking for charters (śāsana-yāchana) for the enjoyment of their own territories (svavishayabhukti). But, instead of straining the meaning of the words like that, we can adopt a plain meaning. Jayaswal has said that the kings who accepted the suzerainty of Samudragupta begged for charters for the enjoyment (use) of Garuḍa coins in their own provinces. But this seems to be unwarranted. What is referred to in the passage is not the *enjoyment of Gupta coins* in their territories by the subordinate allies of Samudragupta, but the *enjoyment of their own territories* by them. The charters, issued by Samudragupta when the subordinate rulers like Daivaputra-Shāhi - Shāhānushāhi, begged for them, permitted them to enjoy the government of their own territories. This is the plain meaning of the passage.

The meaning of the passage depends on the interpretation we give to *garutmadāṅka*. Jayaswal says that 'garutmadāṅka' refers to Gupta coinage. He gives two reasons for this. Firstly, we find Garutman (Garuḍa) on some coins of Guptas and therefore 'garutmadāṅka' (that which has Garuḍa mark on it) must refer to Gupta coinage. Secondly, we find one or two coins of Gaḍaharas and Shalada - Shakas, who are classed among the subordinate rulers under Samudragupta. These coins seem to have traces of some marks on

1. *Ibid* p. 208.

2. *C. I. I. Gupta inscriptions*, p. 14, n. 3.

Gupta coins on them.¹ So the subordinate rulers must have adopted those traces, after asking for charters to permit them to do so.

But '*garutmadāṅka*' need not refer to Gupta coinage only. It may refer to coins, seals or anythings which have the mark or figure of Garuḍa on them. Jayaswal has said that '*Garutmadāṅka*' means the coin bearing Garuḍa, like the Nānāṅka meaning the coin bearing Nāna. We do not deny that '*garutmadāṅka*' may refer to a coin bearing Garuḍa. But what we say is that it need not necessarily refer to all Gupta coinage, whether the bird Garuḍa is found or not on them. In fact, not all Gupta coins bear Garuḍa bird on them. Therefore, we cannot invariably equate *garutmadāṅka* with Gupta coinage. Secondly, *garutmadāṅka* may refer strictly to 'anything having the mark or figure of Garuḍa on it'. It may be, as we have already said, a coin, a seal, or a charter or anything. In the passage concerned, '*garutmadāṅka*' must be connected with '*śāsana*' as an adjectival phrase. Thus, '*garutmadāṅka śāsana*' means a '*śāsana*' bearing the figure or symbol of Garuḍa on it. Garutmadāṅka is correctly translated as 'Garuḍa symbol or seal'.² The difference between our interpretation and the view taken by Jayaswal is now clear. Jayaswal has taken *garutmadāṅka* to be a form of noun and said that it refers Gupta coinage. But we have taken it to be an adjective to '*śāsana*'. So in our view the passage '*garutmadāṅka svavishayabhukti-śāsanayāchana*' means 'begging for charters (*Śāsana yāchana*) having the mark or figure of Garuḍa on them (*garutmadāṅka*) for the enjoyment of their own territories (*svavishayabhukti*). It must be not thought that we are entirely rejecting the view taken by Jayaswal. We only say that the view we have offered, seems to be better fitting, without any undue strain on the meaning of words.

If it is accepted that '*garutmadāṅka*' must be connected with '*śāsana*' as an adjective to it, then the significance of the whole passage is different from what Jayaswal tried to give to it. The passage cannot show as Jayaswal supposed it to do, that Samudragupta's subordinate allies begged for charters to use Gupta coinage in their territories. Its significance lies in the fact that it throws light on the state-craft of the Gupta conquerors. They did not annex what all they came across. When subordinate allies begged for retaining their territories, they re-instated them and issued charters (*śāsana*) with Garuḍa symbols (*garudāṅka*) permitting them to enjoy their own territories.

1. *J. B. O. I. S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. p. 208-10.

2. (See P. 157, 'Men & Thought in Ancient India' by P. K. Mukherjee). See also R. V. Fask's 'History of North-Eastern India, p. 924.)

THE NAYAK KINGS OF TANJORE — PATRONS OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE.*

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Tanjore, a historic city, is situated on the banks of one of the branches of the river Cauvery, in the midst of a fertile tract of land. Major H. A. Newell calls it "The City of Mammoth Bull", but it can be more aptly called "The City of Temples." It was the capital of Chōla Kingdom for centuries and, therefore, the scene of development of all fine arts so to say. It is one of the cities, which attracts both Indian and foreign tourists. Its high minarets (*Gōpurams*) herald it from a distance. Its importance continued from the dim past to the middle of the last century. It witnessed also the turmoil of the Carnatic Wars to some extent.

Two unique institutions stand supreme proclaiming its importance for ever. One is the "Big temple" dedicated to Lord Br̥hadisvara, an undying relic of the Chōla rule, with its lofty and symmetrical tower and with its grand monolythic "Bull God" Nandi. The other is the monumental Manuscripts Library called "Saraswati Mahal", with its more than 25,000 Manuscript treasures, to a great extent an untapped reservoir of Indian Literature, and one of the largest Manuscripts Libraries in the World. It is a proud relic of the Nāyak and Maharāṭṭa rule. These two are sufficient to give to Tanjore an honourable place among the historic cities of the world. We are concerned more with the latter institution which had its genesis during the time of the Nāyaks who ruled for nearly one and a half centuries. Who are these Nāyaks? The word Nāyak sounds as a military title meaning "the leader of an army", 'a general'. This name is still used in the Indian Military phraseology. The ancestors of this Nāyak family were military commanders under the Emperors of Vijayanagar of happy memory. The great Vijayanagar Empire is gratefully remembered for having kept the Hindu culture in tact for over two centuries and a half, and giving scope for its spread through various forms of literature. This period may be said to be most fruitful for the undisturbed development of Indian Literatures in Southern India. This was rendered possible by the Vijayanagar Empire, because it prevented the turmoils of the North from penetrating into South beyond the Tungabhadra. During these centuries South India prospered in comparative peace until the French and the English came to fight for supremacy. The

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Empire not only gave security of life and property, but also provided the country with a centralised power which could keep under control the proud revolting chiefs. The Empire was a great patron of Sanskrit literature, having been founded by the great Vidyāranya who was next to Śaṅkarāchārya, a staunch preserver of Hindu culture. The chiefs under the Empire vied with the supreme power to become patrons of literature in their turn. I shall quote a few sentences from Dr. S. K. Aiyengar's book *Some Contributions*.

".....Vijayanagar stood out for all that was worth preserving in Hindu religion and culture.....It pitted itself on the south bank of the Tungabhadra in a position of advantage..... and thus saved South India as the home for the undisturbed further development of Hinduism, such as it had come under the great Cholas of the South.....The object of Vijayanagar and those that were responsible for it was to preserve all that was Hindu, irrespective of the multifarious minor things that went to constitute the Hinduism of those days as they do that of these days..... The one object was the preservation of Hindu independence in South India, with all the multiplicity of religions, Hindu, Jain,..... and Buddhist, and providing for the further development of these on peaceful lines, a home in the country south of the river Krishna."

The literature that grew under such auspices was indeed very great and varied. Vijayanagar Epoch also saw the growth of *Vaiṣṇavism* and *Mādhvāism* in the South. The peaceful political atmosphere obtaining in South India during this time tended to the spread of these twin systems founded by the two *Āchāryas*, Rāmānuja and Madhva, and also to the growth of rivalry between them on one hand, and the ancient *Advaita* on the other, along with the spread of *Saiv-ādvaita*. These religious movements or schools of philosophy gave to Sanskrit a richness and volume of dialectic literature that is unparalleled in the history of any language.

Unfortunately the subsequent political turmoils which culminated in the Carnatic Wars and bid for supremacy by the French and the British, made the Sanskrit works of this period hidden in the private homes and the shelves of the "Sarasvatī Mahal" Library. It was only after the British had firmly established themselves in South India that their attention began to be drawn to these literary treasures.¹ Therefore, until the middle of the last century the South Indian Sanskrit literature was not fully known to the public; and for that reason any reference to it did not find place in the extant text books on Sanskrit literature. This history will not be complete

1. The establishment of the Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras, for instance is an important event.

until this vast and varied field is also covered. Weber, Max-Muller, Macdonnel, Keith and Winternitz among foreign savants and a host of Indian Scholars have all tried to exhaust the Sanskrit literature known in their times. The works of all these fall short of the complete picture. If you look at the Index of Keith's Classical Sanskrit Literature (*Heritage of India Series*) you will find only the names of Jagannātha-Pāṇḍitarāja and Appayya-dīkshita out of a host of South Indian Writers. Recently an attempt at a complete exposition has been made by the late Dr. M. Krishnamacharya M. A., M. L. Ph. D. I shall quote a verse from Rāmakrishna-dīkshita, the learned son and commentator of his father's *Vetānta Paribhāṣā*, about the condition of South India at that time :

वेनाशे भूमाकुल वीथिकांगणे गृहेगृहे यत्र वसन्ति मृत्युः ।

अथैत सर्वशून्यः कथान्तरे विनिर्दिष्ट प्रत्यनुमानेवेदिनः ॥

This is proof positive that the Vedic religion with its elaborate and interesting ritual was in vogue in South India in those times and that all the systems of Philosophy were assiduously cultivated. I shall mention a few facts.

By the first quarter of the sixteenth century the Pāṇḍyan and Chōla kingdoms were still warring with each other but the great emperor Krishnadēva Rāya kept them within bounds. In the later years of Krishnadeva's rule the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom became heirless, and Visvanātha Nāyak, one of the commanders under the Vijayanagar Empire, who was noted for his courage and military skill, was appointed Viceroy, and had his court at Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. Achyutadēva Rāya succeeded Krishnadeva and maintained his brother's traditions in all respects. During the early years of Achyutadeva's reign the Chōla throne also became vacant. Chevappa Nāyak who was one of the commanders of the Empire, and who, on account of his family pedigree and bravery, and having married the Emperor's wife's sister was appointed Viceroy at Tanjore, the seat of the Chōla Kingdom.

भार्यभक्तस्य धराबलारेः मूर्त्यविका मूर्तिमतीवकीर्तिः ॥

Raghunāthābhyaudaya

Chevappa otherwise called Sevappa having been intimately connected with the Imperial family transplanted at Tanjore, almost all the institutions and traditions of the Empire, the two most important of them being *Religious toleration* and *patronage of Letters*. Thus the Tanjore Viceroyalty along with the Madura Viceroyalty became also a seat of learning. The smaller chiefs also copied. Thus Vellore, Pudukkōta, Jinji and other principalities had their court-poets and authors. The establishment of the Tanjore Viceroyalty may be ascribed to 1535.

This paper deals with the Sanskrit Literature connected with the Tanjore Court. Two dynasties, first the Nāyaks and then the Maharattas ruled in succession nearly two and half centuries. I shall take up the Nāyaks in this paper.

Four princes of this family ruled, and their names and dates may be stated thus :

Sevappa Nāyak	From 1535	To 1561
Achyuta Nāyak	„ 1561	„ 1614
Raghunātha Nāyak	„ 1614	„ 1633
Vijayarāghava Nāyak	„ 1633	„ 1673

The great personage that comes uppermost to our mind as soon as one thinks of this dynasty is Gōvinda-dīkshita, the Brahman-Minister of that court. To bring this remarkable man along with him from Vijayanagar to Tanjore was the wisest act that the first Nāyak king Chevappa did. As he came from Vijayanagar, the Imperial tradition of having a Brahman Prime-Minister was maintained. As Vidyāranya was to the Vijayanagar Empire, so was Gōvinda-dīkshita to the new Kingdom of Tanjore. He belonged to the same Hōsala Karnāṭa family like Vidyāranya. He was also like Vidyāranya a *Śatāntṛa-Sarvātāntṛa* as the versatility of his scholarship would show. He was philosopher, friend and guide, to the Nāyak dynasty of Tanjore. Chevappa had implicit confidence in him and maintained the two fundamental principles of *religious toleration* and *literary patronage* under the guiding inspiration of this learned minister. Gōvinda¹ was younger than Chevappa, and therefore continued

1. Dr. M. Krishnamacharya's text book of *Classical Sanskrit Literature* is so far the only comprehensive work which treats something about the Sanskrit literature of this court. He treats therein of this central figure of Gōvinda-dīkshita. The first scholar who wrote about Gōvinda was Mr. N. K. Venkatesam, Assistant Professor in the Madras Presidency College. He wrote a learned article in the *J.A.H.R.S.* (Vol. II Parts 3 & 4) in which he elaborately dealt with the life of this scholar-minister in all its aspects. That article with some of its doubtful conclusions provoked me to write a series of articles in the Telugu Journal *Bhārati* as long ago as 1932. Dr. Achārya whose book was printed in 1937 does not seem to have taken notice of my contributions, for some of the doubtful conclusions of Mr. Venkatesam have been re-iterated by him. First about the dates: The periods of reign have not been stated correctly. I discussed and fixed them in my "*History of Nāyak Kings of Tanjore*" a work in Telugu published in 1932. The beginnings of this dynasty are said therein to have been laid in 1542 while it was actually 1535. The end of Chevappa's reign is given as 1572 while I proved it to be 1561. Raghunatha's dates are mentioned thus "He ruled between 1624 to (?)". I mentioned this date under question mark as 1633. For details of Gōvinda's life Dr. Achārya depends greatly on tradition. Some of the details *viz.* that he had eig't sons and one daughter, that he lived at Paṭṭēs'waram or Tiru-Nāgēs'waram, that he himself made two statues of himself and his wife, placed them in the Kumbakonam Temple and that he was deified as a god are taken in to-to from Mr. Venkatesam's article. All these are dealt with by me in my book *seriatim*.

to be the pivot round whom the whole administration revolved, during the first three reigns of the dynasty. Govinda died and thereafter one of the two cardinal principles was violated. That led to the fall of the dynasty. If we look into history we see unmistakably that *pride*, *immorality* and *religious persecution* were the precursors of the fall of empires. "Pride goes before fall" is the old adage.

Govinda-dikshita was minister under three rulers. His great statesmanship, sagacity and scholarship are revealed in his policy. He threw open the Tanjore Court to the followers of all religions and writers in all languages, and he proved himself to be a great administrator. These are undeniable facts.

Those were times when the three Vedāntic systems (Advaita, Dvaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita) warred against each other. That in the Tanjore Court there were the followers of all these systems speaks much about the religious toleration of the Nāyaks under the inspiration of the scholar-Minister. The *Rajaguru* was a *Viśiṣṭādvaitin* by name *Satakratu Śrīnivāsa Tātāchārya*.

आस्थाने रघुनाथभूवरिपो राजार्यचूडामणिः

श्रीमन्तान्यदेशिकस्यफणितः शृंगारवर्गोज्ज्वला ॥

Pārijatāpaharaṇam

The Minister himself was an Advaitin as evidenced from the following passage of his son's work,

इति श्रीमद्वैत विद्यार्यस्यसि चित्तमर्वेतोमुखातिगात्, साक्षिचित्तास वाजपेययात्रि,
गोविंद दीक्षित वर नागमां वर द्वितीय तनयस्य ॥

Chāturdanḍiprakāśikā

A *Dvaita* poet by name Sudhīndra was bathed in gold in this Court as is evidenced by the following verse :

अतुल्यविधिविद्वन्मणाललास्यमानः प्रभुमणि रघुनाथ प्रौढ भूपालकेन ।

निष्किलनिहित विद्वन्मौलिपाद रघुनाथः परजन दुःखार्थ प्राप्तेमाभिषेकम् ॥

Nāgabavēndravijaya

The Tanjore Dt. Gazetter (p. 333) mentions that even Christians were given facilities for constructing Churches and propagation of their religion.

The Kings had complete confidence in Gōvinda. He was consulted on all points and his advice was accepted implicitly. On one occasion the Mohamedan Kingdoms from the North pressed on Penugonda, the Capital of the Empire, when Emperor Venkata requested the Tanjore Nāyak for help. Achyuta, the ruler of Tanjore was old and had only one son. In spite of that, the advice of Gōvinda was accepted and the young prince was sent to help the Empire in that crisis. He returned victorious.

गुरोर्नि देशाद्वर राजकार्यं निर्याहयो नीति पराध्वनीनः ।

नामन्तभूपात् शनानुधानः जयप्रयागाय समुद्योगभूत् ॥

Sāhityaratnākara

At another time there was danger to Tanjore from all sides,—internal anarchy and external fear of enemies. Then again the advice of Gōvinda was sought after and accepted.

समुतो वसुधा सुधाकरोसौ सहगोविंद मखीन्दुना सभायां ।

ममगादधतव गोल भेदी सजयंतो गुरुणा यथामराणाम् ॥

Sāhityaratnākara

Yet on another occasion he advised that the old King might retire abdicating in favour of his son and this was at once accepted.

नृप धूर्वहर्तानिजे तनूजे, वसुधा वास्तदिनी वरावृतायः ।

विजयानन्दोऽपि विशङ्कः विमनानाशु विनाशयत्यजस्रम् ।

This was the Minister's advice and the King gave the following reply.

विजितवह्नौ विशमधीशाः बहुधाभोजिवसुं वराप्यजस्रा ।

विदुषामपि संभृतं व्यनानि द्रविणं किपुनरस्ति मेविधेयम् ॥

Ibid

On all occasions Gōvinda's advice bore fruit.

The actual coronation of the young prince was performed by the minister himself. Gōvinda thus endeared himself to the Nāyak Kings so much that they even offered him a seat on the throne.

“अस्य श्रीगघुनाथ मृपालरिपो । रथ्यासितार्थसने ॥ Ibid

The relation between the Kings and Minister was so inseparable that a poet mentioned it ingeniously in the following verse :—

विनामाख्यतनामानौ, महीक्षिद्वाक्षिनावुभौ ।

अखं आखे चकुशलौ, आहवेपुत्र ॥

The three names are: अच्युत, अनंत, गोविंद

The third Nāyak king, Raghunātha was the greatest ruler of this dynasty. He was born during the life time of the first King, Chevvappa and showed signs of precocity even very early. Govinda took charge of the education of this boy and made him an expert in arts, literature, war and administration. His reign was to Tanjore what Krishnadēvarāya's reign was to Vijayanagar. Govinda's efforts in the upbringing of prince Raghunātha bore the desired fruit and Raghunātha became most renowned in all branches. Raghunath's love of art, is best illustrated by the present palace of Tanjore Kings. Though ruined it gives ample proof.

तस्यां नगर्थात्तरुणां विव दिरुक्त सौभाग्यसुवर्णकुम्भम् ॥

There is a tradition regarding this palace, which apart from its veracity throws great light upon Raghunātha's artistic taste. His sister by name Achyuta-Raghunāthāmbā was married to the great Tirumala Naik of Madura, who having built a palace, now extant, took his wife to have a look at it. She is said to have replied, that that,

palace did not compare even with a corner of the palace which her brother had built. Thereupon the husband was offended, as he felt that his prestige was lowered; and in rage he thrust his dagger brutally into her heart. This incident, probably true, had its political repercussions and became one of the causes of enmity between these two royal families, which ultimately resulted in the fall of the Tanjore principality. A great general, Raghunātha, won the battle of Tōpur on the Cauvery, defeating the confederacy of vassal kings of Madura, Jinji and many other smaller principalities who came to overthrow the Empire of Vijayanagar. Rāmadēva Rāya, the titular emperor was coronated on the battlefield. This battle gave a fresh lease of life to the Empire for some years. Besides, Raghunātha crossed to Jaffna (Yelpānam) by a bridge of boats, and reinstated its king there whom the Portuguese had dethroned. His early campaigns gave to the country in the latter years, that peace and tranquility, which was so necessary for administrative stability and progress of literary activity. Raghunātha was famous as an administrator; during his reign the country had bumper harvests both in dry and wet crops. About his literary talents suffice it to say that he was a great Scholar-Poet and was a patron of several languages. The following verse speaks about his talents.

यामद्वयेषियदेनरि पारिजात माजीहर त्स्वम् मच्युत मृपम्नुः ।

काव्येनदत्र विबुधौबु कथं कथं चि दालेखि चित्रमवधाय फणाद्र कल्पौः ॥

Sāhitya Ratnākara

His scholarship made him the *guru* to his Minister's eldest son Yajñanārāyaṇa Dikshita who was himself a great scholar-poet. He himself tells us :—

काव्यालङ्कृति नाटकादि कलना पांडित्यमत्यद्भुतं सर्वशोरघुनाथ भूषणमन्त्रो यस्यापदिश्यस्वयम् ।

आदानुगुरुदाक्षिणामभिमतमहौघ्यसौदत्तवान् कर्णालंकरणं निजं च पतकं पादांगदं कंकणम् ॥

Sāhityaratnākara

Raghunātha was himself a great author having written a number of Sanskrit and Telugu works. He wrote *Rāmāyaṇa* in Telugu which was translated into Sanskrit by Madhuravāṇi, one of the distinguished poetesses of his court. Besides he wrote *Valmāki-charita* a *prabandha* in Telugu. In Sanskrit he wrote *Bhāratasāra* and *Rāmāyaṇa sāra* in addition to a *prabandha*, *Pārijātāpaharaṇa* mentioned above. His versatility is evidenced by the fact that he was also a great musician. *Sāṅgita sudhā* which is generally attributed to Minister Gōvinda contains passages which casts a doubt about its authorship.

विलोक्य दूरे विबुधान् ग्रन्थान् मंत्राक्षता न्मूर्ध्नि मुदानीयाय ।

*

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*

*

न्यवेशयत्तानुचितामेनपु

* * * *

अस्ताविपुस्ते विबुधास्समस्ताः

* * * *

संगीतशास्त्राबुनिधिविनश्य धीमंदरेणा कृतपक्षापातः ।

प्रदेहिमंगीतसुधाम मस्ते, श्रेयांसिभूयां मिभवंति नित्यम् ॥

आ कथं तद्वाक्यमना बह्वात् कृताञ्जलिश्चै रघुनाथभूपः ।

श्रेयस्क रेध्वेनियुं जनेमाम भवादृशा इत्यभिधाय भक्त्या,

सीतानहार्थं हृदि रामचंद्रम् भक्त्यायाकुल स्वागि नमाकलय्या,

काल्यैवधर्मायचशाश्वताय तसोतिर्मंगीतसुधां तदग्रे ॥

Sāṅgītasudhā

This reveals that the King was the author of this work. But the son of the Minister Veṅkaṭamakhin the author of the great musical work "*Chaturdaṇḍiprakāśikā*" says in one place:—

ततोनु रघुनाथेन्द्र मेलकाणा निरूप्यते

तल्लक्षणं मंगीतसुधानिर्धारितं

चव्यथाच्युता म्याल रघुनाथनुपांकिने

अस्मत्तातकृतये प्रोक्तान् श्रेयान् लिखाम्यहम् ॥

Chaturdaṇḍiprakāśikā

Though there is a slight alteration in the name of the work, scholars have identified it as the same, and also accepted the testimony. This fact is variously mentioned in works. "The author is Gōvinda-dikshita, his (Raghunātha's) Minister and the father of Veṅkaṭamakhin....." ² Incidentally this brings me to mention the fact that Raghunātha was the inventor of a particular kind of *Vīna* on which any *Mēla* or *Rāga* may be played without change in the position of strings. See the following:

मेलान्तेतत्र नमस्त रागान् प्रकाशयाम्यान् सुलभीकरोमि ॥

Sāṅgītasudhā

He was also the inventor of some *rāgas* like *Jayantasēnu* and some *talas* like *Rāmānanda*.

जयंतमेनादिकराग रामानंदादितालान् रचयन् विशेषान् ॥

Ibid

No wonder that in the reign of such a king the fame of Tanjore spread far and wide, and that his court was the most magnificent and powerful in South India. I shall quote a few verses.

1. The above is given in *prastāvanā* as a conversation between Pāndits and Raghunātha.

2. *Journal of Music Academy* Vol. I. p. 57

चिरंतमैर्नैर्गम वृद्धवर्गै रन्यैश्च धन्यैर्विनयावनमैः,
 षट्दर्शनी सागर पारगैश्च महसुरभूषित पार्श्वभागः
 कविप्रवेकैरपि कालिदास मयूर सौमिह्रि मुरारिदेवैः,
 कर्णाटकांघ्र द्रमिड प्रबंध निर्माणविद्या निपुणैश्च कैश्चित्
 वाग्गेयकारप्रमुखै रनेकैः विचित्र गीतादि कलाप्रवाणैः
 तथैव वाणादि मवाच विद्या विचक्षणैः क्वापि निपेव्यमाणः
 नानाविधाशा नरपालवर्ग *संदेशाकृष्टि रसमुपास्यमानः
 आस्तेपि भद्रासन मच्युतेन्ध्र तनूभवदश्री रघुनाथभूषः ॥

Ibid

In addition to the vast literary output by the poets, poetesses and scholars of his Court, one of the greatest bounties of his reign was the *Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Library* with its invaluable treasures of Manuscripts, the foundation of which was laid by this Scholar Prince. "The Mss. described here are the results perhaps of 300 years' collections, firstly by the Nāyaks of Tanjore, secondly after about A. D. 1675, by the Maharatta Princes." (Dr. BURNELL). "The earliest beginnings of the Library must have been about the end of the 16th century when Tanjore was under the rule of Telugu Naiks who collected Sanskrit Mss. written in Telugu characters." (P. P. S. SASTRI)

The rule of the Nāyaks was a period of intense literary activity when *Mahākāvyas*, *Nāṭakas* and works on all the systems of Philosophy were produced by a galaxy of poets, scholars and philosophers, unsurpassed in the history of later Sanskrit literature. The following testimony may be quoted. "The Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries in the history of South India witnessed a large number of Sanskrit poets and philosophers. That period was, to say the least, the Golden Age of Sanskrit revival in recent times. Most of the important writers of South India flourished during this period 1500—1700. The names of Appayya-dikshita, Nilkaṇṭha-dikshita, Gōvinda dikshita, Yajñanārāyaṇa-dikshita, Venkaṭa-makhi, Samarapuṅgava dikshita, Srinivāsa-dikshita (Ratnakheta), Rājachūdāmaṇi-dikshita etc. are a few among the most famous." ²

A majority of the above names belonged to the Court of Nāyaks of Tanjore: That obviously proves that this Court was the most important and fruitful in Southern India as the scene of the development of Sanskrit literature. Nilakaṇṭha-dikshita and Samara-puṅgava-dikshita, two great scholar-poets, do not belong to this Court. The former of them—a grandson of Appayya dikshita—was in the Madura Nāyak Court, and was for some years the regent ruling the principality during the boyhood of the Prince Chokkanātha. A few words about these literary giants will be useful and interesting.

1. The word means "Ambassadors."

2. Dr. Chintamani in his introduction to *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇam*.

First comes the name of Appayya-dikshita. He is one of the famous authors of South India whose name is known throughout the country. He won laurels in many disputations in Benares, and so great a grammarian as Bhaṭṭōji-dikshita, the author of *Sidhānta-Kaumudi*, became his disciple and came to South India along with him. Appayya was honoured in all the South Indian Courts, including the Imperial capital Penugonda, where Emperor Tirumalarāya held his court, after the Battle of Tallikōṭa. Venkatapatirāya was the successor of Tirumalarāya, and the Imperial Court was adorned by great scholars and authors of different persuasions, as was the tradition of that court. Venkatapatirāya was one of the last Emperors of Vijayanagar who could preserve the old glory and splendour to a great extent. Appayya-dikshita seems to have become old by that time as is evidenced from the following verse:—

प्राप्ततत्प्रणीयं किल यदिह कियान् पूर्णायोस्तिनांशः
ल नामिष्ट्वानिवर्त्य निजविषयतया दृश्यतेकिंचिदत् ।
कितुव्यापारमेतत् प्रथयतिफलसं योजनार्थपरेषाम्
प्राप्तः पुण्यैरगण्यैरिवविबुधगणो वैकट्यश्रेणीपालम् ॥

Vidhirasāyana

This verse also shows that Appayya-dikshita placed Bhaṭṭōji in the Court of Venkatapati, himself returning to Tanjore on the invitation of Gōvinda-dikshita, the Minister. At the request of Govinda he wrote *Parimale*, a commentary on Amalananda's *Kalpataru*. Appayya was a prolific writer and is said to have composed 104 works.* He was the greatest exponent of *Saivasidhānta* of Śrīkaṇṭhāchārya which he maintained against the onslaught of Vaishnavism and Madhvaism. These dialectics developed into a great literature, in which great scholar-philosophers like Sudhindra, Vijayindra and Mahāchārya and others took part. At one time his life seems to have been attempted, in one of his journeys. Probably during one of his journeys the *Mārga-sahāya-stōtra* was composed. The following verse seems to indicate this fact.

सहसं वर्तताम् पथिपथिको साहसकृतः
प्रवर्ततां बाष्पमथिगिविधमप्या रचयितुम् ।
नलक्ष्मिवैर्हं नलिनजलिभिः प्राप्तमपिबत्
ममस्वामीचामाकर शिखरि चापोस्तिपुग्नः ॥

Mārgasahāyastōtra

His works are on various topics including *Alaṅkāra*, *Tārka* and *Vēdānta*; and others are *Kāvya*s, *Nāṭaka*s and others as well. There is an interesting anecdote connected with his life which deserves mention here. There was one (Ratnakhṭa) alias Śrinivāsa

* Here are some of them. 1. Upakrama-Parākrama. 2. Upasamhāra-Uijsaya. 3. Madhva-tantra-mukha-mardanam. 4. Appayyadikshita-kapōla-capēṭikā. 5. Madhvādhvarakāṇṭaka. 6. Madhvādhvakāṇṭakādharaṇa.

dikshita whose name we find also in the above list and who was invincible in disputations, thus receiving the obeisances of scholars. Though himself a great scholar, he despaired of his ability to defeat Appayya in literary contest. Therefore he gave his daughter to Appayya as his second wife and thus received his obeisance as his father-in-law and an elder, and fulfilled his pledge. That girl, his second wife, was a great Sanskrit scholar; to her this following verse is attributed. A number of Pandits came to discuss with her father and asked her, when she was sprinkling cow-dung water in front of the threshold early in the morning, if her father was at home, informing her, however, the purpose on which they had come. She replied.

विपश्चिता मपश्चिमे, * विवादकेलि निश्चले सपलत्रित्यथलमेव रत्नलेटरीक्षिते ।

बृहस्पतिः कञ्जल्पति, प्रसर्पतिकर्मपराद असंमुखश्च पण्मुखश्चतुर्मुखश्चदुर्मुखः ॥

Appayya-dikshita is very dear to the Andhras, because himself though a 'Vaṣṭama', he expressed sorrow at his not having been a full-blooded Andhra by birth and language. The following verse is attributed to him:

अंध्रत्वमंध्रभाषाच प्रभाकरपरिश्रमः ।

तत्रापि याज्ञुपीशाखा नात्यल्पस्यतपसः फलम् ॥

Originally his native place was Adiapalem in North Arcot District. For some years he was the court-poet of Chinna-Bomma-bhūpāla of Vellore, who became converted to Saivism and bathed Appayya-dikshita in gold coins, which Appayya utilised in building a temple to God Siva as is evidenced from an inscription. The following verse is an extempore composition about Appayya-dikshita of a poet who visited the Vellore Court.

नानादेशनरेन्द्रमंडल महायलातिदरभिवत्

कादोक्तकपदारविद्विन्नतरण्य यज्वप्रभोः ।

शैवोक्तपपरिष्कृतै रहरहस्सूक्तैः सुधालालितैः

फुल्लकर्णपुटस्य बोम्ममनृपतेः पुण्यानिगण्यानिकिम् ॥

Appayya lived between 1520 and 1593 A. D.

Next comes Śrīnivāsa or Ratnakhṛta-dikshita. He was as great a scholar-poet as Appayya himself. That scholar was for a long time the court-poet at Jinji during the rule of Sūrappa Nayak. As I have already pointed out, Śrīnivāsa was the father-in-law of Appayya through the latter's second marriage. He belonged to a family of scholars. Bhāvasvāmi I, the author of a *Vedabhāṣya*, and Bhāvasvāmi II the author of *Advaitachintāmaṇi* were his ancestors. His son was the brilliant Rājachūḍāmaṇi-dikshita, a renowned scholar and author. Both the father and son were versatile in

* who is in the forefront.

knowledge, prolific in authorship, and called themselves *Sarvatāntṛa-Svatāntṛas*. While one adorned the Court at Jinji the other was an ornament to the Court of Tanjore. After some years, the father also joined the son at Tanjore to take rest in his old age. 'Ratna-khṣṭa' became the surname of the family after Śrinivāsa, because of this *śloka* which he wrote in *Rukmaṇi-pariṇaya-kāvya*.

सन्ध्या १ सन्धुक्षितांभोधर नलिकगणा दुद्रतान् सीसखंडान्

ताराकारान्निरोद्धं शशि रवि कपयात विभ्रतो रत्नखेटैः ।

अन्योन्यं युष्मामानौ, उभयचरमभूभृत् प्रवीरावितिद्रा

गुन्याख्यातापराख्यः क्षितिपतिवचसा रत्नखेटाध्वरीति ॥

This anecdote reminds us of the one about Bhavabhūti or Nichula. He was the recipient of an *agrahāra* from Śūrappanāyak, which is named after the donor as 'Śūramangalam'. His '*Bhāvanā-Purushottama*' is a great drama and belongs to the class of *Prabodhachandrodāya* as an allegory. Śūrappanāyak, the patron of Śrinivāsa, though cruel and ungrateful, lives in history on account of his patronage of literature through the works of scholar-poets like Śrinivāsa.

I shall now deal with the family of Govinda-dikshita. Dr. Chintamani mentions three members of this family, the father and his two sons. Gōvinda has already been referred to; he became the pivot round which the Nāyak Court of Tanjore revolved. Among his sons only two, Yajñanārāyaṇa and Venkaṭmakhi are mentioned, but there are others also who are great. The family continued to be one from which great scholars and poets were born. The present Saṅkarāchārya of Kanchi-Kāmakōṭipīṭha is a scion of this family, by female descent. So was the great *Mīmāṃsaka* Venkaṭa Subbā Śāstri who was a professor of *Mīmāṃsaka* in the Madras Sanskrit College. Another of the sons of Gōvinda, by name Lingādhvari was a great scholar and wrote a commentary on *Siva-sahasranāma*. Both Yajñanārāyaṇa and Venkaṭmakhi were great scholar-poets, and ornaments of the Tanjore Court. I suggested already that the elder Yajñanārāyaṇa was the disciple of the ruler Raghunātha himself, who afterwards made him one of his Court poets.² Yajñanārāyaṇa was the author of many works; one is *Sāhitya-ratnākara*, a historical *Mahākāvya*; *Raghunātha Bhūpavijaya* is a work on rhetoric on the lines of *Pratāparudrīya* and *Raghunāthabhūpālīya-Nāṭaka* is a historical drama. Though comparatively young he disappeared from the Court of the last of the Nāyaks along with his father. He and the last ruler are said to be of the same age and jointly educated. God only knows how the schism occurred between them. We are told that religious persecution of the non-Vaishnavites began under the guidance

1. *sandhukshita* means 'kindled'

of Satakratu Srinivāsa Tātāchārya, the Rājaguru; and all non-Vaishṇavites fled from the Tanjore Court. The glory of Tanjore Nāyaks disappeared with the last ruler, Vijayaraghava nāyak, and passed on into the hands of Ekoji, the step-brother of the Great Sivāji. The descendants of Gōvinda were *Karmishthas* and were renowned equally both as scholars and poets. Every one of his sons performed a *Yajña* as their names indicate. Everyone was well versed in the *Srauta* ritual as is evidenced by some of their works.¹ Between the two brothers, Veṅkaṭamakhi appears to be more versatile than the elder brother Yajñanārayaṇa. He made his name immortal by two of his works. One is *Vārtikābharṇa* (*Ṭupṭika-vyākhyā*), a *Mīmāṃsa* work, and the other is *Chaturdaṇḍi-prakāśa* a work on Music. The former is a commentary on Kumārila's *Ṭupṭikā*, which is itself a running commentary on a portion of Jaimini's *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras*. This is the second commentary known to the world on *Ṭupṭikā* of Kumārila along with Pārthasārathi's *Nyāyaratna* and is therefore a very rare work. The other is a revolutionary work on Karnatic Music, and the theory of division of all *Sampūrṇa Rāgas* (into 72 varieties according to *Suddha*, *Madhyama* and *Pratimādhyama*) is an innovation made by this scholar musician, on which the whole structure of Karnatic Music now depends. Besides, he composed several melodious and soul-stirring songs like Purandaradāsa. His theory is followed by the great Tyāgarāja, the Andhra saint, musician-poet, and is now accepted on all hands in Southern India.

Among the galaxy of scholar-poets mentioned by Dr. Chintamani the last connected with the Tanjore Court is Rājachūdamaṇi-dikshita the great son of the great Srinivāsa (Ratnakhṭa). This poet is as prolific in his writings; and his works are as varied in their topics as that of Appayya-dikshita. Some of his works, very few of them are now published which are sufficient to prove his talents as a poet and scholar. Though it appears to be an exaggeration, it is mentioned that he wrote a drama in his seventh year.

तेनहिर्भ सप्तमेण्वहायने, विरचय्य सबहुमानं,

अस्माकंहस्ते दत्तकिल कमलिनीकलहसनामधेयानाटिका

f *rasthāvanā*.

Such was his genius. He seems to have lispd in numbers like Pope, the English poet. His *Sahitya Samrājya* is again a rhetorical work on the lines of Vidyānātha's *Pratāparudrīya*. He wrote about a dozen plays. Dr. Chintamani in his introduction to *Rukmiṇī-Kalyāṇa* mentions him as one of the greatest writers in Southern India. Verily he was one!

1. The first work was published by the Madras University and edited by Dr. Chintamani. The other two, १. शुल्बमीमांसा and २. कर्मात्रवार्तिकम्, are still unpublished.

In addition to the above there were many others who adorned the Court of Tanjore. Yajñanārāyaṇa mentions two of them, Krishṇādhvari and Dīṇḍima.

प्रागेव वर्णिता विद्वद्वत्तंसायितवचसा कृष्णयज्वना,¹

डिडिम कुलमंडनेन, पंडितशिखामणिना, सोमनाथेन ॥ Raghunāthabhūpavijaya-nāṭaka.

Besides the above there were some poetesses who scored over men poets and who were experts in *Satāvadhāna* and *Āśūkavita*.² Two names stand out among many,—of Madhuravāṇi and Rāmabhadraṁbā. The former has justified her name by writing a *Muhākāvya* of fourteen *sargas*. *Rāmāyaṇasāra* was written by Madhuravāṇi at the bidding of Raghunātha; it is a translation of his Telugu Rāmāyaṇa. Her name itself was given by the King.

चतुरमधुरवाणीं सम्यगाकर्ण्ययस्याः ।

सदसिमधुरवाणीनामदत्तं त्वयैव ॥

Here are a couple of verses to show her poetic talent.

यदंतरावर्तित नर्तनानां, सीमंतिनीनांश्रममाक्षिपन्ति

पर्यन्तयत्न प्रतिमाकराग्र प्रकीर्णजाताः पवमानपोताः ।

* * * *

बंदीकृता येनपरक्षितीश, महामणीमंडितकीर्तिकन्याः

परार्थ्यदन्त प्रतिमानिभेन, स्तंभं समालंब्यचिरं वसन्ति॥ (Rāmāyaṇa sara kāvya)

The second poetess Rāmabhadraṁbā is the author of the *Kavya*, *Raghunāthābhyaśudaya*. This, along with *Sāhityaratnākara* of Yajñanārāyaṇa, is one of the sources of history of the Nāyak Rule. Her poetry is likewise of the best variety. I will quote only one verse.

वेलापथेनस्यविभोर्गजानां, कर्णानिलैःकेतकगभरेणुः ।

प्रसारितस्तलपयःपयोधिमाकल्पयन्तं तलवणांबुराशिम् ॥ (Raghunāthābhyaśudaya).

She claims that she was a wife of Raghunātha : नाथो मम श्रीरघुनाथनेतृ
In spite of this direct evidence there are some who say that she was only a concubine! A detailed notice of these various authors and their works is not only beyond the scope of this paper but the subject matter of a big treatise. There are some others whom I have not mentioned for want of space. Blessed are the scholars, poets, poetesses and rulers of those days who made themselves immortal "leaving their foot prints, on the sands of time".

1. Krishṇādhvari was the author of a double entendre *Kāvya* in Telugu called *Naishadhiya-pārijāta* blending the stories of *Nalacharita* and *Parijatapaharana*. Telugu is the only Indian language which contains a number of such *Kavyas*. *Dindima* is yet to be identified.

2. कतिकतिनाक्षितिपतयः, किते रघुनाथनायकायते, ।

भुविबह्वःकिलतरवः, किते संतानपादपायते ॥

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NORTHERN CIRCARS

DR. LANKA SUNDARAM, M. A., PH. D.

CHAPTER IV.

DIRECT MANAGEMENT AND THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF CIRCUIT (1769—1779)

(Continued from p. 92 of the previous issue)

Thomas Rumbold.

The first report of the Circuit Committee¹ naturally comprised an account of the military strength of Vijayarama Razu. It is impossible to credit this report with the responsibility for the reduction of the Vijayanagaram zamindari, since it was dated 16 August 1777, the day previous to, and was read in Madras revenue consultations ten days after, the actual surrender of Vijayarama Razu. Equally impossible is it to say how far the investigations of the Committee during the nine months preceding the fall of the fort of Vijayanagaram supplied the Madras government with information sufficient to induce them to pursue such a forward policy. Hence, the value of the sections of this report dealing with the military position of the zamindari is very doubtful. Yet, the report clearly reveals the exact situation of the affairs in the Chicacole Sarkar and undoubtedly helped the Madras government to formulate plans for the general de-militarisation of the Sarkar which was systematically carried out subsequently.

The accounts perused by the Committee "were broken and unfinished", and their investigations were greatly handicapped by want of access to the village accountants. The revenues of Vijayarama Razu were estimated at twenty lakhs of rupees a year. Of this, six or seven lakhs, or nearly a third of the gross revenues of the zamindari, were generally expended on the maintenance of a regular force of eleven thousand *sibbandi*². Sitarama Razu was "well known to be a man of great intrigue, abilities and persuasion" and kept a constant correspondence with the other zamindars awaiting an opportunity to take the field against the Company. The renters of the Chicacole and Kasimkota *haveli* lands were not entitled to any abatement of their rents.

1. *Circuit Committee to Madras*, dated Chicacole 16 August, *Rev. Cons.* 27 August, Vol. 19. pp. 522—48.

2. Eight thousand troops were stationed at Vijayanagaram. Two thousand three hundred of these were "sepoys with firelocks, of which eleven hundred are clothed and a thousand and seven hundred receive the same pay as the Company's".

The second report of the Circuit Committee¹ throws a lot of light on the proprietary rights of the zamindars, *inamdars*, renters and, finally, of the actual cultivators of the soil, even though some of their contentions and observations as to fact are questionable. The resolution of the Madras government on this report is not of any real significance as Johnson and Perring who are signatories to the report happened to be members of the Council when it came under their consideration.

"The Chicacole havelly is, in general, we understand, thinly populated and not sufficiently stocked with bullocks for cultivation and that on this account many spots capable of cultivation have been neglected for many years past". A succession of short leases entirely ruined the country as "in a short lease the renter must necessarily be discouraged from launching out in (*sic*) any considerable improvements on account of the danger his property would be liable to from the failure of rains and as he can have no certainty of his expenses being reimbursed". "The computation of the produce being fixed too high in several villages where they (*sic*) fell and partly as the price at which the Government's share was charged to the inhabitants being rated above the due medium of value", the cultivators were heavily indebted to the renters. Further, the Company sustained a loss of a lakh and a half of rupees during the management of the *haveli* lands by Akkaji and Mir Sahib. The Vijayanagaram family was aggressive in usurping the Kotapalem *pargana*² from its lawful zamindar whose family first obtained possession of it from Hafiz-ud-Din, Nawab of Chicacole, as far back as 1725, and of the Gunupuram and Nerumandalam *parganas*³ which rightfully belonged to Jagannadha Deo, Raja of Kamidi. Sitaram Razu claimed illegally and enjoyed the revenues of certain *haveli* villages valued at Rs. 45,000.

The Committee did not approve the usual practice of appointing inexperienced *tahsildars* to collect the revenues of the lands of defaulting renters and zamindars. With a view to obviate the existing undesirable features in the administration of the Chicacole Sarkar, as enumerated above, they recommended that the *haveli* lands be leased out to Padmanabha Razu for a period of ten years believing that such a course would improve the revenue conditions to an astonishing extent. The improvement of the revenues being

1. Circuit Committee to Madras. 10 September. Rev. Cons. 18 November Vol. 19, pp. 628-64.

2. In the Chipurupalli taluk of the Vizagapatam district.

3. In the Gunupuram taluk of the Vizagapatam district.

I am not able to identify the Nerumandalam *pargana* which word in all probability is not in current use. Its nearest equivalent is Hirmandalam due north of Chicacole and n. n. w. of Palkonda.

their primary interest, the Committee recommended that all the outstanding balances must be considered as revenue "whether received or not" and inserted accordingly in the Company's accounts. Further, they thought it proper when preparing *kauls* "to insert such conditions in order to preclude all pretensions in the renter (*sic*) to deductions at the expiration of the term on the ground of former precedents." The Vijayanagaram family was not entitled to the retention of the Kotapalem *pargana* and Timma Razu the rightful owner should be restored to it on a reasonable rent. Likewise, the offer of Rs. 25,000 by Jagannadha Deo, Raja of Kimidi, for the Gunupuram and Nerumandalam *parganas* might be accepted and the countries delivered to his charge, as these were obtained by Sitarama Razu as lately as 1771. "We conceive the lands themselves are unalienable" and "it appears to us to be not only inconsistent with the submission due to the supremacy of the Company's government that the Zamindars should privately alienate any part of the lands of their Zamindari, but further the allowing of such a practice would be no less repugnant to principles of sound policy". As to the *haveli* villages, continued possession by Sitarama Razu had not created any legal right for him. They were first obtained by the Vijayanagaram family in 1741 during the governorship of Jaffar Ali Khan, whose inefficient administration resulted in his removal and the appointment of Abdali Khan. Vijayarama Razu, the Great, found means to arrange for the reappointment of Jaffar Ali and subsequently defeated the Hyderabad forces in 1752. Then followed the administration of Bussey. The villages in question were never relinquished even during the management of Ibrahim Khan who was appointed as the French deputy in the Chicacole Sarkar when Bussey finally left the Northern Sarkars. Finally, no authentic *sanads* under the Hyderabad seal, were produced by the Vijayanagaram family. Even if there were any, "it cannot, we think, be doubted that the Company by the cessions that was made them of the Circars by the Court of Delly, became immediately possessed of all the rights over them, that resided in the Mogul government". On all these grounds the Committee recommended that the *haveli* villages concerned be taken possession of by the Company and managed on their own account.

The committee reported that it was customary for the company to realise the revenue from the inhabitants in specie and not in kind. When the grain was ripe the renter or his agents attended by the head inhabitants and the village conicopies¹ made a computation of the produce. In case of a disagreement, the fact that the grain

1. The corrupt form of the Tamil word *Kanakapillai* which signifies a Village accountant. See Wilson: *Glossary*. o. v. p. p. 255.

was under the surveillance of the renter coerced the inhabitants into acquiescence. Attested copies of documents stating the quantity of the produce were deposited in the *muzumdari* office. The renter then ordered the inhabitants to gather the produce, and the price charged by the government for its share was then established. There were no specific regulations observed in the fixation of the price, but it was incumbent on the Muhammadan *nawabs* or managers, to assemble all the *Sahukers*, the principal inhabitants and the *kazi* of the village, and take their opinions in writing before the price was fixed. The Committee confessed their inability to assess the degree of security enjoyed by the cultivator in a transaction like this as there was "in this country no intermediate independent judicial power for him to appeal for the redress of his grievance". It is hardly necessary for us to point out that in settling the computation of the produce of the harvests and establishing the standard price for regulating the government collections, great openings are unavoidably given for fraud and abuse and that if either case injustice be wilfully inflicted, the inhabitants having the whole weight of government to contend with, must necessarily be in a hopeless condition." The villages did not maintain any registers, and hence it was not possible for them to ascertain with accuracy the number of the inhabitants. The modes of their occupation and the figures supplied by the renters of the *haveli* lands under these heads were consequently untrustworthy.

The more significant part of this report deals with lands enjoyed mostly rent free under various and varying titles and rights. These include *jagirs*, *inams*, *agraharams*, *srotriams* and *brahmani manyams*.¹ The administration of the Chicacole *nawabs* and renters not only increased the number of these grants but also left undefined the respective rights of the individuals enjoying them. "Too rich and too well fortified with powerful connections to be exposed to any scrutiny at the Durbar, and consequently too little interest, and concerned with respect to the condition in which they might leave the public revenue, the Chicacole *Nabobs* seem not to have been very scrupulous in lavishing the government possessions". A thorough and critical examination of these grants was not possible. "It is, however, difficult to get at the truth of an enquiry of this nature. The interests of the claimants, the frauds of the renters, the good nature of bystanders, being all considerable obstacles. Those *Sunnuds* which we have marked as appearing to us to be wholly admissible² were granted, as you will observe, part

1. These are fully dealt with in the glossary. Their validity alone is here discussed from the historical point of view.

2. It is to be regretted that the numerous enclosures to this important report have not been preserved in the India Office Records.

of them by persons who could not have been authorised to perform such acts, and part of them were since the establishment of the Company's government", and hence illegal without confirmation and recognition by the Company. The various grants may be classified under the following heads:

- (1) Grants under the Hyderabad seal.
- (2) Grants of *nawabs* of the Hyderabad government confirmed by successive administrations to the time of the expulsion of Jafar Ali Khan by Vijayarama Razu the Great in 1752.
- (3) Grants as in No. 2, but not confirmed by successive governments.
- (4) Grants made from the time of the expulsion of Jafar Ali Khan to the conquest of the Sarkars from the French and further to the cession of them to the Company by the Mughal government (1765).
- (5) Grants for which the *sanads* are said to be lost, but without any attestation thereof and which have been continued under the orders of successive renters.
- (6) Grants on account of offices which have become obsolete under the Company's administration.
- (7) Grants since the conquest of the Sarkars from the French or cession of them by the Mughal government.

The Committee deplored that the Company had not so far maintained a register of the grants enjoyed by various individuals besides those given to their subordinate servants. "Whichever of these grants, or denominations of grants, your honor &c may judge proper to continue, they should, we think be officially registered, and Sunnuds for them expressing the quantity of ground, and the purposes for which it was bestowed should be given (*sic*) under the Company's seal". They further pointed to the fact that "no record has been kept in the accounts of the particular sums received by the several Inaumdars", and confessed that the block figure representing such receipts had not led them to any definite conclusions about them.

The Chicacole *haveli* lands must be freed from the deductions of the *muzumdari* office which constituted "the superintending and controlling power over all village Conicoplies". This office was one of "considerable trust and extent" under the Muhammadan government, but was gradually limited to the *haveli* lands, having been suppressed by the Zamindars with a view "to conceal the produce of their countries", and quite obsolete under the Company's administration.* As the *muzumdar* was never legally entitled to any grants in land, but only to one per cent of the collections of revenue, the hereditary right to the jagir might be suppressed and Jagannadha Raju

the former *diwan* of the Vizayanagaram zamindari, might be appointed to that office on a monthly salary of a hundred and fifty pagodas.

With respect to the *inams*, *agraharams* and *srotriams* various forms of charity lands, the Chicacole revenues suffered to the extent of Rs. 50,000 a year. All these lands were enjoyed under the grants of the renters who always had "a power of harassing and distressing" their beneficiaries. As the original *sanads* for these grants were not procurable, the Committee considered them counterfeit. "It will not, we think, be advisable under the arrangements it may be necessary to make with respect to this important article of alienation of revenue to neglect their priesthood or leave them unprovided for It will undoubtedly be proper that their possession under our establishment should be restricted to some reasonable limit."

The immediate effect of this report was that the Chicacole paragona was leased out for ten years (1777—1787) by the temporary government of John Whitehill,¹ to Sitarama Razu instead of Padmanabha Razu the nominee of the Circuit Committee. The Vizagapatam Council entertained serious misgivings as to this decision. Since it discarded an offer of Rs. 40,000 more from a man of outstanding integrity and requested for a reconsideration of the matter, in view of the 'established custom' of the subordinate settlements to recommend suitable persons for the rent of the government lands.² In this they had the support of the Court of Directors.³ Still, the offer from Sitarama Razu was demonstrably to the benefit of the company inasmuch as the rent for 1776—7 (Rs. 1,70,000), which was gradually increased to Rs. 2,73,000 by 1786—7 was actually productive of a surplus of Rs. 7,60,000 in ten years. This, the Madras government wrote to the Court, "is to be attributed mostly to the enquiries your honors had directed to be made by your Circuit Committee".⁴ The result of this decennial lease was to strengthen the position of Sitarama Razu and to complicate Vijayanagaram politics for an indefinite period of time.

1. *Rev. Cons.* 19 December, Vol. 19, pp. 800-805. See also *Madras to Vizagapatam and to Ganjam.* 24 and 27 December, respectively, *idem.* pp. 807 and 808.

2. *Vizagapatam to Madras,* 17 January 1778, *idem.* 2 February. Vol. 20, p. 62.

3. *Madras Dispatches.* 10 January 1781, para. 18 Vol. 9, p. 337. See also Appendix No. 153. to the *Sec. Rep.* It is significant to note that the Court of Directors waited for three years for a review of the proceedings of the Madras government relative to the Circuit Committee and that only after definite steps were contemplated against Sir Thomas Rumbold.

4. *Madras Letters Received,* 8 February, 1778 (Whitehill) para. 28, Vol. IX pp. 82-88.

At this stage, the Circuit Committee was reorganised owing to the suspension of Floyer from the Company's service and the promotion of Johnson and Perring to membership of the Madras Council.¹ The reconstituted Committee² consisted of John Hollend, Quintin Craufurd, Edward Saunders, Robert Barclay and John Huddleston. The three members last named were junior servants of the Company. The Court of Directors acquiesced in these appointments even though their original orders were for the Committee of Circuit to consist of members of the Madras Council.³ The Whitehill government were fully intent upon the prosecution of the Committee's work and as early as 13 January 1778 admonished them for their inaction.⁴ But the Committee was definitely superseded by the Rumbold government which shortly superseded it.⁵

1. Whitehill wrote a personal letter to the Court of Directors deploring the want of senior servants for the administration of the presidency. See *Whitehill to the Court*, October 1777, in *Madras Letters Received*, Vol. 8, pp. 483-45.

2. *Rev. Cons.* 5 December 1777. Vol. 19, pp. 745-48. See also App. No. 11 to the *Sec. Rep.* See further, *Madras Letters Received (Revenue)* 5 February 1778, (Whitehill) paras. 29-80, Vol. 9, pp. 93-94.

3. *Madras Dispatches*. 10 January 1781 para. 14. Vol. 9, pp. 381-32. See also Appendix No. 163 to the *Sec. Rep.*

4. *Rev. Cons.* 13 January 1778. Vol. 20, p. 29.

5. See *Madras Letters Received (Revenue)* 4 March 1778 (Rumbold), therein Madras intimated their desire to defer the measures of the Whitehill government until they had time to inquire into the same. General Munro and Thomas Rumbold were primarily for this resolution Vol. 9, pp. 161-162.

CHAPTER V.

THE REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD. (1778—1780).

"The system of administering revenue was that of farming large tracts of country to whomsoever could best afford to pay for them. Portions of these tracts were again sub-let to other farms.....who were supreme in the districts which they farmed".

Sutherland: *Sketches of the Relations subsisting between the British government in India and the different Native States.* (1833).

"The unqualified conveyance by the government itself of most of its powers to these large speculative renters, necessarily conferred upon them the most ample means of oppression and appears to have occasioned, but in a still greater degree, the unjust and vicious system of internal administration which existed in the Zamindary lands".

The Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons. (1812).

1. THE SUSPENSION OF THE CIRCUIT COMMITTEE:—

Sir Thomas Rumbold arrived in Madras on 8 February 1778. On 27 February he desired his Council to allow him time to inform himself sufficiently of the position of arrears in the Chicacole Sarkar and of the work of the Circuit Committee.¹ He declares that he then directed his attention to "the balance due from..... (the zamindars), the apprehension of the approaching war, the dislike of the zamindars themselves to the Committee of Circuit, the ideas they entertained of it, and the dread they had of being deprived of their hereditary possessions which no assurances could remove.....".² On 24 March he delivered a minute advocating the suspension of the Circuit Committee.³ By an unanimous vote the government resolved that "the appointment of a Committee of Circuit be for the present discontinued" and wrote home "that it would be impolitic, expensive and unnecessary in every point of view to continue the plan that had been adopted previous to our arrival".⁴ The zamindars, renters and the lesser officials were ordered to repair to Madras for the settlement of the *jamabandi* and the members of the Circuit Committee were directed to join

Suspension of
the Circuit
Committee.

1. *Rev. Cons.* of the same date, Vol. 20 pp. 75-76; also *Second Report of the Committee of Secrecy*, p. 7 (1781).

2. *Briefs for the Defence of Sir Thomas Rumbold*, Vol. I. f. 8. *British Museum, Addl. MSS.* No. 28, 159.

3. *Rev. Cons.* of the same date Vol. 20, pp. 80-104; also *Sec. Rep.* Appendix No. 15.

4. *Madras letters Received*, 17 October, 1778, para. Vol. IX. (pages not numbered)

their previous positions drawing half allowances from 5 December 1777 to date.

The suspension of the Circuit Committee formed one of the principal charges brought against Sir Thomas Rumbold by the Committee of Secrecy appointed by the House of Commons to enquire into the causes of the Carnatic War and the existing condition of the Company's possessions,¹ and figures prominently in the private Bill of Pains and Penalties brought against him and Peter Perring, one of his Council at Madras.² Hence, it is necessary to enter into a detailed examination of the subject.

By the time Sir Thomas Rumbold took charge of the government of Fort St. George, certain incidents had occurred which militated against the instructions of the Court of Directors when appointing the Committee of Circuit.³ For about a year the Committee did not proceed on its work.⁴ This dilatoriness on the part of Lord Pigot and his Council was never remarked upon by the Court of Directors,

Sir Thomas himself being one of them at the time.⁵

During Stratton's government, three junior servants Antecedents to were appointed to the Committee which was contrary Suspension. to the Court's orders,⁶ but this irregularity was condoned by them when the Madras dispatches announcing this particular came under their consideration on 2 April 1777, three months before Sir Thomas sailed for Madras.⁷ Concerning the administration of Sir Thomas Rumbold himself, the Court tentatively approved of his settlement with the zamindars at Madras,⁸ while no further review of the same with their opinion thereon was offered till 10 January 1781.⁹

By a curious coincidence, the Circuit Committee of Bengal appointed considerably earlier offered a ready illustration to Sir

1. *Sec. Rep.* (1781.)

2. Introduced on 29 April 1782 and abandoned on 3 December 1783.

3. Seen in the previous chapter.

4. The Committee was appointed in London on 12 April 1775. Lord Pigot minuted on 1 August 1776 that the work of the Committee would take a long time to execute and on his motion the Madras Council abandoned the idea of immediately constituting it. See Appendix No. 6. to *Sec. Rep.*

5. *Briefs*, I. f. 20.

6. See in the previous chapter; See *Sec. Rep. App. No. 7.*

7. *Briefs* I f. 21; also Mr. Bearcroft's speech in the House of Commons on 28 January 1783, in *Speeches for the Prosecution of Sir Thomas Rumbold* f. 13 b. *Brit. Mus. Addl. MSS.* No. 28, 161.

8. *Madras Dispatches*, (Rev.) 16 June, 1779. para 22. Vol. VIII, pp. 458-459. See Appendix No. 153. to *Sec. Rep.*

9. *Idem.* 10 January, 1781, para 14, Vol. IX, pp. 331-332.

Thomas Rumbold. The Court of Directors had been apprehensive of the effects of sudden innovations likely to be introduced by the Bengal Committee. They wrote to Bengal: "We apprehend that a sudden transition from one mode to another.....may have alarmed the inhabitants".¹ Further ".....after more than seven year's investigation, information is still so incomplete as to render another innovation still more extraordinary.....We by no means disapprove of the attempt to obtain further information if it is necessary, but we are sorry that the conduct of the majority of the Council on the occasion has been such as to have our utter disapprobation".² With regard to their dealings with the Ranis of Burdwan and Rajshahi which, curiously enough, offer a ready comparison to the Madras government's attitude towards the Vijayanagaram family, they reprimanded the Bengal government: "we disapprove every mode of vexatious interference in their private concerns and utterly abhor the idea of disturbing them in the quiet enjoyment of their possession". Finally, the members of the Bengal Circuit Committee were ordered to be prosecuted, and the lands ordered to be let year by year.³ Sir Thomas's mind was thus unconsciously prepared to apply these later views of the Court of Directors about the Bengal Committee to their earlier instructions respecting the Committee of Circuit in the Northern Sarkars.

The special difficulties of Rumbold were not inconsiderable. "He had the disgusted native to conciliate, an exhausted treasury to repair, a defensive to form against Hyder Ali's hostilities, which he was also to avert if he could".⁴ The Madras treasury was in such a state that the Court of Directors expressed their great concern at "the enormous deficiency of the revenues and.....the increase of your current expenses" and did not hesitate to declare.....that in all events Fort St. George cannot be suffered to remain a losing settlement".⁵ Sir Thomas Rumbold took charge of the government on 8 February 1778, and the revenues of the Presidency including the Northern Sarkars for the year ending 30 April 1778 were less than those of the previous year by *M. Ps.* 6,77,621, while the expenditure side showed an increase of *Mad. Pags.* 88,862, and "the total difference to the Company, buildings excepted, is Pagodas 7,66,483". Revenue collections for

1. *Bengal Dispatches*, 5 February 1777, para 8, Vol. VIII. p. 395.
2. *Idem*, 4 July 1778, paras 87-88. *Idem*, pp. 754-756.
3. *Bengal Dispatches*, 4 March 1778, paras 77-78 Vol. IX, pp. 229-233.
4. *Defence of Sir Thomas Rumbold, Baronet, Stated by his Counsel, Mr. Har- dinge, in the House of Commons*, Part I, p. 7. (To be referred to as *Printed Defence*)
5. *Madras Dispatches*, (Revenue) 17 May 1780, paras 2-8. Vol. IX, pp. 157-160.

the year under review fell short of the expenditure by *M. Ps.* 3,21,657, while charges under the head of buildings and fortifications amounted to *M. Ps.* 2,05,016, the net deficit being *M. Ps.* 5,26,673.¹

The work of the Circuit Committee had been obstructed by impediments thrown in their way by several zamindars and renters. As a tentative arrangement annual agreements had been made, however urgent might be the necessity of long leases which alone could remove the undesirable features of the existing revenue administration. Hostilities with Hyder seemed to be imminent and he was "said to be contented with an established moderate tribute which is more than the Zamindars think, the Company's ever was or ever will be".² The attitude of the French was equally threatening as events clearly demonstrated within a short time. Undue expectations were entertained of the work of the Circuit Committee. Rumbold argues convincingly that "had a Committee of Circuit been harassing the Zamindars, which must have been the case, for I am persuaded that Europeans in general in the Company's service are very little acquainted with the business of revenue in Hindostan,³ and supposing the servants themselves to act rightly and without views to their own interest, the number of dubashes, officers &c. that would of course attend the Committee and on whom they must have relied for the chief part of their information, could not fail to prove an expense and burthen to the country through which they were to pass."⁴ Further, "this was no time for the slow operations of a travelling Committee. Nothing was to be done that might give cause for delay, disgust the Zemindars or involve us in any disputes or trouble".⁵ Finally, he considered the report of the Circuit Committee to be of doubtful value since "it is not from accounts collected from different people, some of them interested, others discontented and whinning for a change of government that the true value of a country can be estimated and the collections alone ought to determine the Jamabundy to be received".⁶ The Committee itself cost the already exhausted treasury *Mad. Pags.* 36,000 a year which the Court of Directors clearly condemned.⁷ One more point made the position of the Madras government precarious. By past usage, the zamindars and other principal renters

1. *Madras Dispatches*, (Revenue) 17 May, 1780, Paras 2-3 Vol. IX pp. 157-160.

2. *Briefs*. I. f. 12

3. Loosely used for India in general as Sir Thomas was for sometime in the Company's employ stationed at Patna.

4. *Briefs* I. f. 11.

5. *Idem*. I. f. 13.

6. Rumbold's minute 1 October 1778. *Rev. Cons.* 2 October, Vol. 21, p. 663.

7. *Madras Dispatches*, (Rev.) January 10, 1781. para 7 Vol. IX. p. 326. See also Rumbold's minute in *Rev. Cons.* 4 March, 1778. Vol. 20, pp. 80-104.

in the Sarkars had been taught to consider the subordinate chiefships which immediately dealt with them as constituting the sole authority in the country. This attitude impaired the power of the Madras government and afforded every opportunity for such chiefships to usurp all the advantages which effective control over local revenue affairs could give them and screened intricate acts of maladministration, thus frustrating all efforts at the seat of government towards the ordered efficiency of the administrative machinery.

The finances of Masulipatam were bad.¹ Nor was Vizagapatam in any better condition, it had applied in vain for funds to Ganjam.² The position of Ganjam was equally serious, perhaps worse. Its revenues were incommensurate with the dignity and expense of the Company's establishment there, and its chiefship and council were to be abolished in favour of a cheaper residency with two assistants.³ Its military expenses were extraordinary, Sir Hector Munro minuting that Rs. 2,80,000 were annually "incurred for the sole use of supplying their authority in the collection of revenue."⁴ Heavy balances were outstanding in the Company's books. The zamindari balances under Masulipatam amounted to Rs. 1,90,518 and those of the *haveli* lands to Rs. 3,13,393.⁵ The balances due from the zamindars under Vizagapatam amounted to no less than Rs. 6,44,051.⁶ Ganjam had a serious tale to tell. The zamindari balances had accumulated during the decade from 1767 to 1777 to as large a sum as Rs. 12,81,359.⁷ Such a state of affairs demanded the closest scrutiny by the Madras government. "The exigency of the situation called for some decisive remedy; delay was ruin; and the flow of inquiry, recommended by the Court of Directors, equally useless and impracticable"⁸ "The single expedient", i.e. the suspension of the Circuit Committee, in which decision Rumbold had the unanimous support of his Council, "which

1. Masulipatam Consultations, 24 April 1778 per *Masulipatam to Madras*, 3 May, in *Rev. Cons.* 15 May, Vol. 20. pp. 186-236.

2. Vizagapatam Consultations, 5 August 1778. *idem.* pp. 532-34.

3. *Rev. Cons.* 6 August 1779, Vol. 23, pp. 4-20; 12 November, pp. 295-96; and also *Madras to Vizagapatam* 29 November, *idem.* pp. 317-19.

4. Minute of 26 June 1779. *idem.* 2 July, Vol. 22, pp. 513-15.

5. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 11 July 1778, *idem.* 20 July, Vol. 20, pp. 399-412.

6. *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 16 June, *idem.* pp. 384-385.

7. *Ganjam to Madras*, 17 June, 1779. *Rev. Cons.* 13 July 1779. Vol. 22, pp. 588-98.

8. *Answer to the Charges exhibited against Sir Thomas Rumbold in the Reports of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons and in the General Letter of the Court of Directors of the 10th January 1781: By Himself.* p. 31. (To be referred to as *Answer to Charges*).

policy could suggest, or the crisis of affairs would admit, was adopted by the Presidency".¹

It is undoubtedly clear that in the suspension of the Circuit Committee Sir Thomas exceeded his powers. The Court of Directors took serious exception to this line of conduct and wrote to Madras :

Unjustified
attack on
Rumbold. "the Court's instructions were positive and unequivocal. They could not be mistaken. No discretionary power was given you to depart from them. You have done it at your own risk, without one good reason for so doing.....Disrespect to the authority and wilful disobedience of the Company shall not be permitted, nor delinquents suffered to escape with impunity".² On the other hand, the Committee of Secrecy accused Rumbold of precipitation in this measure and wrongly reported that the proposal for the abolition of the Circuit was adopted by the Council "as soon as it was proposed by the President."³ But it should be remembered that the members of the Council were not unacquainted with the actual state of revenue affairs in the Sarkars, most of them having seen service in those quarters, and the business thus demanded less time than was usually required for the deliberation of other affairs of a like nature.

Even though such a procedure ignored the orders of the Court of Directors, it did not merit their severe censure and ought not to have occupied such a prominent place as was accorded to it in the attack on Rumbold in the House of Commons. The political as well as the general situation of the times demanded economy and definiteness of revenue returns, and the suspension of the Circuit Committee in the circumstances in which it was suspended seems to have been justified on the whole. Further, two significant points are to be noted in this connection. The first was that there was a shortage of senior servants who could be conveniently spared for the Circuit Committee. During Lord Pigot's time there had been nine members in the Madras Council besides the President. The temporary government of Stratton which appointed the first Committee consisted of seven members. While Sir Thomas's Council comprised of only five members besides him, and in a time of grave crisis the government could ill afford to depute some of the senior members of the Council of an investigation which was to be conducted for a considerable length of time in an area four to seven hundred miles to the northward of Madras. Secondly, the Committee

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Madras Dispatches (Revenue)* 10 January 1781. para 22. Vol. IX. pp. 410-12. See Appendix 153 to *Sec. Rep.*

3. *Sec. Rep.* p. 8.

of Secrecy accused Rumbold of imposing his own ideas on the Madras Council in effecting the suspension of the Circuit Committee.¹ But Whitehill, Johnson, Smith and Perring, members of the preceding Whitehill government, unanimously agreed with him² only four months after they had appointed three junior servants to the first Committee and had reprimanded it for its slow progress. All these four gentlemen had occupied important positions in the Northern Sarkars and their concurrence with Rumbold is capable of a dual construction. Ostensibly, they were alive to the peculiar and grave situation of the Company's affairs, in the Sarkars and to the south. Secondly, they were obviously obsessed with the idea that any thorough investigation of the revenue affairs by an efficient Committee would bring to light any acts of speculation and mismanagement committed during their stay in the Sarkars, which certainly amounts to an act of collusion and suggests a deliberate attempt to prevent the investigation of corrupt revenue practices. In either case, the onus of the responsibility for the suspension of the Circuit Committee does not rest solely with Sir Thomas Rumbold and to accuse him of definite prior motive, as the Committee of Secrecy attempted to do is not justified.

1. Charge No. 4. in *The Case of Sir Thomas Rumbold and Peter Perring*. (Official Proceedings.)

2. Samuel Johnson even withdrew the observations made by him during the deliberations of the previous Councils of which he was a member. *Rev. Cons.* 20 July 1778. Vol. 20, p. 442.

(To be continued)

THE PASUPATA AND OTHER SAIVA SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY.

VADDADI APPA RAO, B. A., B. L.

The Pāsupata system of conduct and philosophy is of great antiquity; and even to-day it is a living system influencing the lives of millions of people in India. It branched off into several sub-systems, each with its own peculiar dogma, ritual and practice. In this paper an attempt is made to recount some of its various sub-systems which have been almost forgotten.

The origin of the Pāsupata system is lost in antiquity. Glimpses of it are found at the dawn of civilisation in India. The antiquities found at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro point out to the existence of certain symbols which indicate their Saivite origin and significance. The earliest written evidence of the worship of Paśupati or Śiva comes from references to Rudra-Śiva in the Vedas. In the Yajurveda there is the *Rudrādhyaya*, which is recited in the worship of Śiva. There need not be any doubt, therefore, as to the identity of the Śiva of Vedas with the Śiva of the Purāṇas and the Āgamas. The *Vāyu Purāṇa*, one of the earliest of all the Puranas, gives an account of the Pāsupata system.

The Pāsupata system posits Paśupati, the Lord of souls, as the supreme cause of all creation. Saṃyasa-Mādhava describes four *Saiva-darśanas* in his *Sarva-darśana-samgraha*: they are *Nakulīśa*, *Saiva*, *Pratyabhijñā* and the *Roṣeśvara*. Of these historically the earliest is the *Nakulīśa* or *Lakulīśa-darśana*, propounded by Lakuli. The Lord Himself revealed the faith according to the Pāsupatas, and He incarnates on the earth again and again, whenever there is a falling off from the pristine purity of the faith. In the Kṛta-Yuga, the Lord incarnated on earth as Īśāna, in the Dvāpara as Mahābala, and in the Trētā as Vṛddhadēva.¹

Lakulīśa-bhaṭṭāraka was the last incarnation of Lord Śiva in Kali-Yuga.² The story of the incarnation is given in the *Kārāvana-mahātmya*.³ Lakuli was born in the Atrēya-gōtra and was the son of Viśvarūpa and Sudarśana-dēvī, who were residents of Ulkā-grāma in the land of the Bhṛguś. Even as a child of

1. "ईशानः प्रथमे जातो द्वितीये तु महाबलः G. O. S. XV appendix IV.

वर्तमाने तु युगे जातो वृद्धदेवो महेश्वरः

2. Gaṇakārikā (Gackwad Oriental Series) Appendix IV.

3. Loc. cit., Appendix IV, page 51.

six or seven months he exhibited supernatural powers. He died as a child and his body was thrown into a tank called *Dēva-khāta* by his sorrow-stricken parents. Lord Śiva entered the dead body and resuscitated it. The child was then found playing on the surface of the tank. This created a great surprise; even Ṛṣis gathered round and praised him. The child assumed a divine shape, with three eyes, flowing hair, *yajñōpavīti*, *mauñjī* (girdle), and sacred ashes. He then wandered far and wide, and finally took up his abode at *Kāyavarōhaṇa*, situated on the west bank of the river *Ūrvā*. He lived there and taught the *Pāsupata-Siddhānta* to the degenerate Brahmins of the land. In the end he disappeared into the *Brahmēśvara-līṅga* with a sword and staff in his left hand and a citron in his right hand.¹ In the representations in sculpture, too, which are very frequent, Lakuli is generally portrayed as a human being with two hands, with a staff in the left hand and with what appears to be a citron in the right hand. There are, however, other representations of Lakuli, on *līṅgas*, with a third eye, with *yajñōpavīti*, and with the *membrum virile* uplifted. These are also the symbols of Lord Śiva. This representation is, therefore, in accordance with the tradition that Lakuli was the incarnation of Śiva. Lakuli has been assigned by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar to the first quarter of the second century after Christ.²

There need not be any doubt that Lakuli was born as a Brahmin and remained a Brahmin to the last. His teachings were in accordance with the Vedas. He rejuvenated the declining *Pāsupata* system and gave it fresh vigour. His *siddhānta* spread far and wide and became popular. His saintly life and personality attracted able and devoted disciples, who spread his teachings over all the quarters of the land. There is ample inscriptional evidence to show how this faith was propagated. The Mathurā Pillar inscription of Candragupta II (380-81 A. D.), of the Year 61 of the Gupta era records that *Ārya Uditācārya*, the supreme *Māhēśvara* preceptor then living, established the images of *Kapilēśvara* and *Upamitēśvara* in the *Gurvāyatana* or the 'Temple of the Teachers.' There in that temple, evidently the images of all the previous *Māhēśvara* teachers were established and consecrated for the worship of the believers of the faith. *Uditācārya* is said to be the tenth in descent from *Bhagavān* Kuśika, and fourth in descent from *Bhagavān* Parāśara. He was the disciple of *Bhagavān* *Upamita-vimala* who was himself a disciple of *Kapila-vimala*. These were

1. असिदण्डधरोवामे दक्षिणे बाजपूरकम् G. O. S. (no. XV) appendix IV.

ब्रह्मलिङ्गे महादेवि अहमपि लयंगतः ॥

2. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXI, p. 5.

teachers in the line of Kusika, one of the four direct disciples of Lakuli. In the *Cintra-Prasāsti*¹ we find the mention of the teachers in the line of Gargya, one of the four direct disciples of Lakuli.²

It is said that Kārtika-rāsi, the *sthānādhipati*, became the ornament of the line of Gargya. The disciples of Kārtika-rāsi were Vālmika-rāsi and Tripurāntaka. The *Cintra-Prasāsti* gives further the following information.

भट्टारक श्रीलकुलिश मूर्त्या तपःक्रियाकाण्ड फलप्रदाता ।
 अवातरद्विधमनुग्रहीतुम् देवः स्वयं बालशृङ्गाकमौलिः ॥
 अनुग्रहांतुं च चिरं विपुलकानुलूकभूतानभिशापतः पितुः
 ललाटमूर्त्या इव लाट भूषणं समेत्य कारोहणमधुवासयः
 अवतरे श्रुत्वारः पाशुपत व्रतविशेषचर्यार्थम् ।
 इह कुशिक गार्ग्य कौरुषमैत्रेय इति तदन्तमदः
 ततस्तपस्विनां तेषां चमूर्त्या जाति रुद्रता
 भुवं विभूषयामास चतुर्णवमुद्रिताम् ॥

Lord Śiva, the grantor of rewards for austerities and meritorious rites and ceremonials, became incarnate as Lakuliśa-bhaṭṭāraka; in order to bestow favours on the Universe and in order to favour those who became owls and were long sonless on account of the curse of their fathers. Lakuli came and resided at Kārōhaṇa—the jewel of the Lāṭa country. Here arose the four disciples of Lakuli, namely Kusika, Gargya, Kauruṣa and Maitrēya, for the establishment of the special and distinct *Pāśupata-caryā* or Pāsupata conduct. From these four disciples, four different races (*jātis*) or spiritual lineages were descended. These lineages became the ornaments of the four quarters of the world. The above passage fully corroborates the several facts in the life of Lakuli as detailed in the *Kāyārōhaṇa-māhātmya*. Evidently Lakuli lived to an advanced age according to the *Cintra-Prasāsti* but did not die shortly after his resuscitation as stated in the *Kārōhaṇa-māhātmya*. The four disciples disseminated Lakuli's teaching, but in doing so there arose differences which led to the establishment of different schools of the Lakula thought. The variances between them were merely differences in the *caryā* or 'conduct'. Unfortunately, there has not been found any evidence as to the disciples, who carried on the teaching of Kauruṣa and Maitrēya.

Rajasēkhara-sūri mentions in his *Ṣaṭdarśana-samuccaya* that the Saivas worship eighteen Tirthaṅkaras who were believed to be incarnations of Śiva. Their names are: 1. Lakuli, 2. Kusika

1. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I p. 271.

2. गार्ग्येय गोलाभरणं बभूव स्थानाधिपतिः कात्तिकराशि नामा.

3. Gārgya, 4. Kauruṣa, 5. Maitrēya, 6. Īṣāna, 7. Pāra-Gārgya, 8. Kapilāṇḍa, 8. Manuṣyaka, 10. Aparā-Kausika, 11. Atri, 12. Piṅgalakṣa, 13. Puṣpaka, 14. Bṛhadācārya, 15. Agasti, 16. Santāna, 17. Rāsikara and 18. Vidyāguru. It is also stated therein that the names were recited by the Śaivas belonging to all the schools every day early in the morning. The apparent conflict between the statement of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* that Lakuli was the last incarnation of Śiva and the statement of Rājasēkhara-sūri, disappears if we note that the latter teachers came into existence long after the redaction of the present *Vāyu Purāṇa* had come into existence. One need not express hesitation in believing that all these eighteen Tirthaṅkaras were true historical personages, though it is not possible in the present state of our knowledge to determine their age and place of activity. The practice of establishing their *Mukha-lingas* in *Gurvāyatanas* as stated in the Mathura Pillar Inscription is proof positive of the above statement. Rāsikara, mentioned in the above list, was the author of a *bhāṣya* on the *Gaṇa-kārikas*. According to another tradition, the number of Tirthaṅkaras is twenty-eight, but we need not pause and go into that question here.

Ācārya Haribhadra mentions in his *Ṣaṭdarśana-samuccaya* that the Śaiva ascetics were divided into four classes. He quotes the following verse in support of his statement :

शैवाः पाशुपताश्चैव महाव्रतधरा स्तथा तुर्याःकालमुखा मुरव्या भेदा एते तपस्विनाम् ¹

He does not state the source from where he quotes it. The four important divisions among the Śaiva ascetics are: 1. The Śaivas, 2. Pāsupatas, 3. Mahāvratins and 4. Kālamukhas. This division is also given by Rāmānuja in his *Sribhāṣya* on the Brahmasūtras, and by Vācaspati Miśra in his *Bhāmati*, a commentary on the *Saṅkarabhāṣya* on the Brahmasūtras. But Vācaspati Miśra mentions the Kāranika-siddhāntins in the place of the Kālamukhas. The name printed in Nirṇaya Sāgara Press edition of 1934 appears as Kārunika-Siddhāntins. It seems to me that it is an apparent misprint for Kāranika-Siddhāntins. This appellation might be due to their particular theory of *kāraṇa* – the first category of the *Lākula-siddhānta*. According to Lakuli, the *Categories* are five in number. They are: 1. the *Kāraṇa*, 2. *Kārya*, 3. *Yoga*, 4. *Vidhi* 5. and *Dukkhānta*. Hence the system was known as the *Pañcārtha-vidya*. Of these the *Kāraṇa* is Īśvara Himself. ²

1. G. O. S. (No. 15) appendix II. page 30,

2 कर्मादिनिरपेक्षस्तु स्वेच्छाचारी यतोऽयं । ततः कारणतः शास्त्रे सर्वकारणकारणम् ॥

G. O. S. (XV) appendix II.

Śaṅkara refutes this theory in his *bhāṣya* on Brahmasūtra (No. 37 pāda and *adhyāya* II), *patyu-ras-āmanjasyāt*.

The disciples of Lakuli seem to have differed from Lakuli himself as to the cause of creation being *Īśvara alone*. They seem to have put forward the theory : कर्मादि सापेक्षः परमेश्वरः कारणम् . The *Lākula-siddhānta* is a *Vaiśeṣika* system; it is also a *Vaidika* system. The disciples of Lakuli were mainly followers of *Nyāya*, though in later days, the two systems *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika*, merged into one another. Some modern writers observe that the Lakulikas were Sāṃkhyas but it is not correct. The Lakulikas abhorred the Sāṃkhya system.

We are not yet in a position to state whether the four classes of the Śaivas referred to above correspond to the four *jāti*s or schools that were established by the four direct disciples of Lakuli. But this much we can gather from the inscriptions: the Kālamukha school which appears to be the largest of all the schools, belonged to the Lākula system. The Tāṇḍikōṇḍi Copper-plate of the Eastern Cālukya King Ammarāja II¹ (A. D. 945-970) which was ably edited by the learned Editor of this Journal mentions Vidyēśvara, the *rājaguru*, and his line belonging to the Kālamukha school. The following verses from that inscription are very interesting.

“युगे युगे स्वीकृतं रुद्रमूर्तयो मुनीश्वराः श्रीलकुलीश्वरादयः ।

बभूवुराणुगृहीत सज्जनाः स्वयंभुवो धर्मपथप्रदर्शिनः ॥

तदन्वयेकालमुखा श्रुतिमुखाः भुविभूतामभिवंधाः । तस्मिन्पर्वदस्ते स्थानाधिपतयः इहहित चरिताः ।

तेषाममरवद्वेश्वाद्यनेकपुराण देवायतन निवासिनां कालमुखानां संततौ ॥”

It is clear from the above that the Kālamukhas were followers of the *Lākula-Samaya* and that they were divided into *Parśas*, *Parśads* or *Parīśads*. The ascetic Vidyēśvara belonged to the *Simha-Parīśad*. There was also another *parśad* known as the *Sakti-Parśad* to which belonged the *Mūvara-Kōṇeya-santati* of the *Parvatāmṇāyas* mentioned in the inscriptions.² Names of some of the ascetics of the *Sakti Parśad* are preserved in the inscriptions of the land. *Sōmēśvara-Pandita*, a celebrated Śaiva divine of the *Simha-Parśad* and a contemporary of the Western Cālukya king, Trailōkyamalla-Āhavamalla (*Sōmēśvara* I) is described as श्रीमलकुलेशमुखकमल विनिर्गत सकल शस्त्राथे सद्भावाभिज्ञः⁴

A certain Bhīvarāsi Paṇḍita is styled as *Lākulāgama-samaya-samuddharaṇar* in another epigraph.⁵ A Lakulēśvara Paṇḍita,⁶ mentioned in a lithic record at Belgaum, is described as follows :

1. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIII, p. 161 f.

2. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V, pp. 218-22.

4. *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 101. This inscription is dated the year 1045. A.D.

5. *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 253

6. *Mysore Inscriptions*, page 146, referred to in *Ep. Ind.* V p. 127.

समस्त तर्कादि शास्त्र पारावार पारंगं, वादिरुद्रं, ... बौद्धाधिबलवामुखं, मीमांसक धात्रीधरवज्रं
लोकायत महात्तरे विदारणककचं, सांख्यवाहीद्रुद्रवैनतेयं, अद्वैतवादि भूजकुठारं अकलंक त्रिपुर
दहनत्रिनेत्रं वादि घट्ट दिशिपट्टं माधवभट्ट घट्टं जनानंदमदभंजनं विश्वानंद पलयोप्रानलं,
अभयचंद्रकालामलं, वादिराजमुखमुद्रं, नयणंदि दिशापट्टं नैवायिकसंरक्षणौकदक्षगमकमहेस्वरनु
पनयासामरापगाप्रवाहं वादिदिगंबरधूमकेतुवादि रुद्रगुण नामांकितर्प श्रीमलकुलीश्वरपंडिताय”-

The Kālamukha teachings spread and *maṭhas* were established all over India. The pontiffs of this school were the *rājagurus* 'Spiritual preceptors' of the Eastern and Western Cālukya kings as well as of the kings of Pāhala or Cēdi, the Kākatiyas of Warangal, and Mālwa. Their influence was very beneficial to the people. They built *maṭhas* and *satras*, where education was freely imparted to the students who were also fed and clothed. They built temples and encouraged architects, sculptors and painters. They presided over *vidyā-maṇḍapas* or assemblages where tests of scholarship of savants in various branches of learning were held and rewards distributed for the learned and the successful. They built hospitals with *prasūti-ārōgya-śālas* 'maternity wards and nursing-homes' ¹ They influenced their royal disciples to make liberal grants of *agrahāras* to learned Brahmans, where provision was also made for the encouragement of artisans and various other craftsmen. The Gōlaki-*maṭha* of the Kālamukhas were chiefly spread over Cēdi and Trilinga kingdoms during the tenth to thirteenth centuries. King Gaṇapati was the spiritual son of Viśvēśvara-Saṁbhu, by virtue of his being initiated by the latter. The Malkāpuram Pillar inscription gives interesting details of the Gōlaki *maṭha*. The *Gōlaki-sampradāya* is said to have been founded by one Sādhāva-Saṁbhu of the Dūrvāsa-gōtra. His disciple was Sōma-Saṁbhu, the author of the celebrated *Sōma-Saṁbhu-paddhati*. The ascetics of this *maṭha* were *Naisthika-brahmacārins* who practised life-long celibacy and other austerities and followed the religious rules of the monastery which was known as the *Śuddha-Saiva-maṭha*. The phrase *Śuddha-Saiva* is capable of more than one interpretation. As opposed to the *Mīśra-Saiva* there is *Śuddha-Saiva*. The attainment of the Siva-hood by worship of Siva alone, without the medium of any other deity such as Sakti and Bhairava, is the chief feature of *Śuddha-Saiva*. This kind of division is mentioned in the Vādhūla and other Āgamas. But the Gōlaki-*maṭha* was not *Śuddha-Saiva* in this sense. There is a *Śuddha-ādhva* or 'pure' path' as opposed to *Kṛcchra-ādhva* or *Ahita-ādhva*, 'the difficult' or 'unfavourable path'. The difference between the two arose out of a divergence in the doctrine. According to the Āgamas, Īśvara creates the World by assuming a form, or a 'body of

1. The Malkāpuram Stone Pillar Inscription of Rudradēva: J.A.H.R.S., Vol. IV, p. 147 ff.

Energy. This body is not perishable like the human body. It is a *śāktam vapuh*, 'body of Energy' a body made up of the five *mantras*, of *Īṣāna*, *Tat-puruṣa*, *Aghōra*, *Vāmadēva* and *Sadyōjata*. And with this *Īṣvara* does the *kṛtya-pañcaka* or the 'Five Acts'. Those Five Acts are *śṛṣṭhi*, (creation) *sthiti* (continuance), *saṃhāra* (destruction), *tirōdhāna* (removal or concealment) and *anugraha* (grace). According to the *Suddha-Śaiva*, these five acts are directly accomplished by *Siva* Himself. In the other *path* these are accomplished by *Ananta* and others.¹ The *Kāraṇāgama* says "सुद्धध्वनिशिवः कृतीप्रोक्तो न ब्रह्म हिते प्रभोः ।" *Ananta* and others are *Vidyēśvaras*, who are liberated souls, who have attained the *Siva*-hood. According to some, Lord *Siva* accomplishes the Creation with the help of *Sakti*, and without *Sakti*. He is not even capable of moving an atom. The *Mahimnastōtra* states :

शिवः शक्त्या युक्तो यदि भवति शक्तः प्रभवितुम् ।

न चेदेवं देवो भवति कुशलः स्पंदितुमपि ॥

There is a reference to this in *Kāśikhaṇḍim* of the celebrated poet *Śrīnātha* of the fifteenth century.¹

Another division of the fourfold *Śaiva* system is that of the *Mahāvratins*, who are also known as the *Kāpālikas*. The late Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar opined that *Mahāvratins* were identical with the *Kālamukhas*.¹ But we may emphatically state that they were not identical with each other. The authorities cited above do not make a confusion between the two. The *Kāpālika-vrata* is the *Mahāvratu*. It will be interesting to know what the chief features of the *Mahāvratu* were. The *Mattavilāsaprahasana*, of the Pallava king *Mahēndravarmān I* of the seventh century A. D., ridicules the degenerated *Kāpālika* and *Saugata* systems. It has a fling at the followers of those faiths who had become corrupt and degraded. The chief characters in the *prahasana* are a *Kāpālika* and a *Bauddha-bhikṣu*. The following verse from the mouth of the *Kāpālika* is interesting and to the point in the present discussion.

“आस्थाय प्रयती महाव्रतमिदं बालेन्दुचूडामगिः ।

स्वामीनो मुमुचे पितामह शिरश्छेदेद्भवादेनसः ॥”

- 1 శ్రీ ॥ *కృత్యపంచకము సాగింపలేడే యింతి ప్రాపులేక కృతాంతభంజకుడు,
నిండుఁజందురుని జంద్రికవోల నే భామ పంచదానివిరోధిఁ బాయునుడు,
*నలేమ శంకూలి శిష్యాక్రియాజ్ఞానశక్తియై కల్పించె సకలజగము,
నేకంధగజయనహృదయ మున్విఘ్నార్పి భవునిపైఁ జక్క-సాబాలుఁగొనిము,
తల్లి *మహితహృదైభికామహామంత్రమునకు నేవరాలోహముఖ్యాదిదైవతము,
నకల జగదధిపతి శైలపుత్రి, [విభున కిట్లు మధురోక్తి విన్నవించు.]

"Our Lord, who has the crescent moon for his head-ornament having with great determination taken up this Great Vow (*Mahāvratā*), got rid of the sin of cutting off the head of Brahman." The words *Mahāvratam-idam* coming from the mouth of the *Kāpālika* himself leaves us in no doubt whatsoever as to the *Kāpālika-vrata* being the same as the *Mahāvratā*. Nanni-Cōḍa's *Kumārasambhavam*, a Telugu Poem, which is assigned to the eleventh or twelfth century, has the following interesting verse :

Hari-kāṅkalamu-cēti-mudra, divijēndrāstul subhuṣāvaḷul,
garaḷamb-abhyavahāram-antaka-tanu-kṣāraṃbu mai-pūta, Paṁ-
karuḥāsinu-sirah-kapālam-uru-bhikṣāpātra-gā Visvasaṁ-
haru vartiṇcu Mahāvrat-ōpahati-sēyam-būna nī prāptiyē!

In this context, the goddess Rati, addressing her lord, deploras her lord, Manmatha's thoughtless action in trying to cause impediment to the terrible Śiva who was engaged in the performance of the *Mahāvratā*. We have plentiful evidence from the *Mālati-Mādhava* of Bhavabhūti of the habits, rites and ceremonials of the *Kāpālikas*. The two *Kāpālikas*, Aghōraghaṇṭa and Kapālakunḍalā, play an important role in the development of the plot. The conflict between the *right* and the *wrong* is forcefully brought out with the aid of these two characters who represent the *wrong*. The description of Kapālakunḍalā at the beginning of the Act V and the scene at the temple of Sakti near the cremation ground in Act V throw much light on the *Kāpālika* system in the time of Bhavabhūti. The *Kāpālikas* wore matted hair, carried a staff with a bell and flag attached to it in one hand; in the other they held a skull for an alms bowl. Their habitat was the cremation ground. They worshipped Sakti in various forms and revelled in gruesome rites in her worship. They believed in the efficacy of the *mantras*, and practiced them for the attainment of the *siddhis* or superhuman powers, such as flying in the air etc., They resorted also to human sacrifices, and practiced *Laya-yoga* for the attainment of the highest Bliss. Īśvara, according to them, is Śaktinātha, Lord of Energy; he is assisted by the various forms of Śakti, for without the help of Sakti, they hold that he cannot even move. Śiva is found by the *Sādhaka* (devotee) in the heart surrounded by the sixteen arteries. The *Kāpālikas* were greatly feared and shunned by the common people. They had their seat chiefly at Srīsaīla; their monasteries were scattered all over the Deccan and South India.¹ It is beyond doubt that the *Kāpālika-Śaiva* system was strongly influenced by

1. A. R. No. 428 of 1914. It records a gift of 20 sheep to a *matha* of *Mahāvratins* at Pallimadam hamlet of Tiruchchuli, Aruppukottai taluk in Ramnad district. This is the only inscription available that mentions a *matha* of *Mahāvratins*.

the *Śakta-Tantra*. The fearsome aspect of the last mentioned *Tantra* is also predominant in the *Kāpālika* system. It may be asserted that all the later *Māhēśvara* systems were influenced by the *Śakta-Tantra*. The *Kālamukhas* appear also to have borrowed some features of that *Tantra*. From the descriptions given by Nanni-Cōḍa in his *Kumārasambhava* referred to above, it appears that the *Kālamukhas* worshipped *Śrīcakra*, and resorted to drinking 'surā'. The following extract from *Śrībaṣya* also supports the above statement.

“कालामुखा अपि कपाल पात्रभोजन शवभस्मस्नान तत्प्राशन
लगुडधारण सुराकुम्भस्थापन, तदाधार देवपूजादिक
मैहिकामुष्मिक सकल फल साधन मभिदधति”—

The *Saivas* and *Pāsupatas* seem to have followed the general *Saiva* system of the *Āgamas*. But we cannot at the present moment, know the distinctions that are peculiar to them. The ancient authorities point out to the existence of four sub-divisions amongst the *Māhēśvaras*. But as time passed on, numerous sections, urged by distinctions and differences in the ritual and practice, came into existence. The *Āgamas* are of four kinds: (1) *Saiva*, (2) *Pāsupata*, (3) *Sōma* and (4) *Lākula*. Of these, the *Saivāgamas* gave rise again to the following sub-divisions: the *Vāma-Saiva*, *Dakṣiṇa-Saiva*, *Mīśra-Saiva* and *Siddhānta Saiva*. It is stated in the *Siddhānta-sikhamani* of Sivacārya-Yōgi that the followers of the *Vāma* system are Śakti worshippers, that the followers of the *Dakṣiṇa* system are the worshippers of Bhairava, that of the *Mīśra* system are the worshippers of the Sapt-Matrikas¹. The followers of the *Siddhānta* system were however guided by the Vedas.

But according to the *Virāgama*, the *Vāma*, *Dakṣiṇa*, *Siddhānta Bhūta* and *Gāruḍa-tantras* are divisions of the *Somāgamas*. It is agreed on all hands that *Vāma* system belonged to the *Śakta-tantra*. In the *Dakṣiṇa-tantra*, Bhairava and Durgā come in for prime worship. In the Andhra country, the *Bhairava-tantra* seems to have been in vogue during the 13th and 14th centuries.² The *Vemabhūpāla*

1. *Siddhantasikhamani* (Kāsi Viras'aiva Vidvat-Samgha Publication in Telugu Characters, 1940) p. 27.

2 “బట్టిభ సెట్టి గారు వినుడీ యొక చొక్క-చుజోగిరేయిరో
సెట్టి దీనితో గలసి భైరవతంత్రముదీర్చి మెచ్చి సా
ధాట్ట మనన లిఖించె సఖరాక్షరభంగి దెనుంగుఁడ్యమున్
• బుట్టువు పేర సాగతము భోగము భాగ్యముఁ బ్రస్తుటఁబుగన్”.

charitam of Vāmanabhaṭṭa-Bāṇa, the poet-laureate of King Peda Kōmaṭi-Vēmareḍḍi of Koṇḍavīḍu (1400-1420 A.D.) gives the following details of the practice of *Bhairava-tantra*, during the worship of the goddess Vindhyavāsini :—

ततो धरणिपति चेदिता; शिबिरवासिन्या, सहमहायोगिभि रूपदंशमांसमेदुरेण मणिकलश
संयुतेन मधुना देव्याविध्यवर्णवत्सिन्धुः कर्तुं मुपचक्रामिरे, सर्वोपकरणसमग्रां पूजां। तदनु भैरवरसना
कन्दलोह्लासकदंतिनाम्, कात्यायनाद्दयैकरव विकात कौमुदीं***संकर्षण मदलीलासखीम्
योगि जन संविच्छुरंजन वस्त्रिकां, सिद्धकुलाधिदेवताम्, उपरि तरल सरस सहकार पल्लवतया,
स्वभजन प्रवणञ्चात्तजनहानं हेतोरंगुलीमिवोदयन्तीम्, अंतर्गत गगनतलप्रतिबिंबतया भैरवतांत्रिक
पापपटलमिवाधः पातयंतीम् **अनुक्षणरकुटितैः फेनबिंदुभिः स्वयमपि दुर्गाचनपुष्पाणीव विकि
रंतीम्, अर्णव कफस्यामृतस्य निदानिष्ठीवनमिवाचरतीम् अनवरतोह्लासिभिः बुद्बुदैः कात्यायनाभक्ति
पुलकमिव कलयंतीम्, अश्रांत घूर्णना घोषै रपहायभक्ति मयि दुर्मेधसा द्विज कुलेन स्वादिमहीनः
सोमः रावनेषु स्वीक्रियत इति, रोषाद्गुहासमिव रचयंतीम् *** अरण्यधानीव अतिमुक्त सेवित
मधुरमधुरां मदिरां निवेदया मासुः ॥

निवेद्य च निर्भरमभासिषुः सुधातिरिक्तरसां सुरां वनितापुरःसरं महायोगिनः ॥
निर्भर मारवाद्य मधु माद्यतां महायोगिनां परस्परमेवालापाः प्रासरन् यथा “जयतु महादेवा ।
जयतु विभुरादि कापालिकाः । जयतु भैरव तन्त्रम् । जयतु पञ्चपाश समुच्छेदन शंकुला सारस्वत
गंधचंदनलता गांधर्वज्योति रुक्तेजनमणिः सद्यो विवृतकारुणी भव भय हरिणी वारुणी । ***
आदिमशक्त्यै पुराण साधक विकीणाः पूजा मुधुर्विदव इति नभसि नक्षत्र बृदान्यादुरागामिकाः
नाटयणोपि अष्टमेनावतारेण भैरवतन्त्र प्रथमाचार्यो बभूव । स एक एव दंष्ट्र्या ब्रह्मपिशाचः यः
श्रुति दुर्वचः पठनदुर्गंधिभिः मुखैः वारुणी पायिनामापदे दोषमाचष्ट । अत एव तस्य दंड मक
रुत देवो महाभैरवः “इत्यन्योन्य माभाध्य मधु पिबंतश्च वमंतश्च नदंतश्च, नृत्यंतश्च गायंतश्च,
मदस्य परांकाष्ठां अवापुर्महा योगिनः” — 1

From the above passage it is clear that according to the *Bhairava-tantra*, the offering of spiritual liquor and flesh to the deity formed the integral part of the worship of Durgā. The sparkling spiritous liquor is described in glowing terms. At the end of the worship the *Mahāyogi* enjoys the offerings in the company of women without any let or hindrance and sings, 'Victory to Wine which brightens the intellect and helps to increase ecstasy; Victory to the great Durga !; Victory to the first *Kapalika* (Siva); and Victory to the *Bhairava-tantra*'. In that state of ecstasy the *Mahāyogi* condemns even the god Brahman who put an interdict in the Vedas against the drinking of spiritous liquors. He claims that one of the four heads of Brahman was rightly cut off by the lord Siva for such an

offence. In his eighth incarnation God Narayana is said to be the first teacher of the *Bhairava-tantra*. The description of an actual congregation of *yogis* who followed the *Bhairava-tantra* according to the description given by Vāmanabhaṭṭa-Bāṇa shows that the *Bhairava-tāntrikas* were *Śāktas* and freely used in their worship, women, wine and flesh.

I may also mention here that the *Svacchanda-tantra*, a well-known work by Kṣemarāja, initiates into the worship of Aghōra, the right mouth of Svacchanda-Bhairava. It is a leading authority on *Siva-dīkṣā* and details of the *upasana* (worship) and *kriya* (practice)

The *Bhūta* and *Garuḍa Tantras* lay special emphasis on the attainment of such powers as the quelling of evil spirits and the curing of poisoning. The *Vāṭulāgama* gives a more comprehensive definition of *Miśra-Śaiva*, than the one that is given in the *Vīrāgama*. It states that all those systems in which the worship of such deities as Sūrya, Gaṇapati and Kumāra is restored to, and through their medium, the Śiva-hood is attained, are called the *Miśra-Śaiva* systems.¹ The *Vāṭulāgama* speaks also of the *Sāmānya-Śaiva*, *Vīra-Śaiva* and *Suddha-śaiva*. From its definition, *Śāmānya-Śaiva* cannot connote a separate system at all. Any body who has reverence towards Śiva-līṅga, who wears ashes, and who respects the devotees of Śiva is a *Sāmānya-Śaiva*. A *Suddha-śaiva* is one who mainly worships Śiva according to the precepts laid in *Kāṇikāgama*. The *Vīraśaiva* seems to have been a distinct system. The *Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi* and the *Vīrāgama* state that it is superior to every other Śaiva system. They also give some fantastic philological explanation to the syllables *vī* and *ra* forming the word *vīra*. Apart from this, it seems to be a different system, because it adhered to the teachings of the *Veda* and *Vedānta*. It also teaches the identity of the individual soul (*jīvātma* and *Īśvara*, though it is not the identity of the *Sarvādvaita*. In later days, the *Vīraśaiva* system became popular and established itself firmly in the land. The further division of *Vīra-śaiva* into *Sāmānya*, *Vīśeṣa*, and *Nirābhāra* is mentioned in the *Vāṭulāgama*. But really these are not divisions based upon any differences in the doctrine. They represent only the different stages in the life of a *Vīra-śaiva* devotee. The *Nirābhāra* stage is similar to that of the *Sanyāsin* of the *Advaita* school.

The *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* mentions two other *Māhēśvara* systems, the *Pratyabhijñā* and the *Rasēśvara*. The *Pratyabhijñā* school was mainly developed by celebrated ascetics and learned men who hailed from Kashmir. Hence it acquired the name, the Kashmiri

1. *Vatulagama* p. 211, (Published in Telugu characters in Ellore, 1897).

School of Saivism. It is based on the *Siva-Sūtras* revealed by Siva Himself. Its greatest exponent was *Siddha Somānandapāda*, who was the author of a treatise known as *Sivadṛṣṭi*. The *vr̥tti* (running commentary) on the *Pratyabhijñā sūtrās* by Utpala and the *Pratyabhijñā-vimaraṣaṇī-Laghu* and *Br̥hati* by Abhinavaguptācārya are the other leading works on this system. Its chief purpose was to check the growth of the predominantly dualistic trends of thought in the Saiva philosophy prevalent in teaching of the *Āgamās*. The exponents of the *Pratyabhijñā* proclaim that the self-luminous individual soul is hidden by *māya*, and a person who turns his attentions inwards will recognise that he is no other than the *Paramēśvara* Himself. It is not possible to deal with all the other characteristics of this faith in this paper, I shall take another opportunity.

The *Raśeśvara* system aims at preserving the body by making it perfect and permanent by the administration of *rasa* or 'mercury'. A person who attains the perfect body can live for thousands of years and attain *jīvan-mukti* or liberation during life by continued practice of the *Yogā*. This school had celebrated adherents though they were few in number. It was mainly devoted to the Chemistry of Mercury. It is stated that the sage Agastya belonged to this school. The transmutation of base metals into gold was also their objective. And those perfect men who could do this lived at *Srīśaila* and other holy places.

JAINISM IN ANDHRADESA

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The study of the History of Jainism in Andhradēsa in general is a fascinating subject; it has not been attempted so far. It is beyond doubt that Jainism held ground in Andhradēsa as a widely popular religion for at least twelve centuries or perhaps more. Its beginnings are however lost. The Jaina immigration into Andhrā is believed to have taken place according to tradition about the third or fourth century B. C; and Jainism as a distinct religion appears to have ceased to exist in Andhradēsa after the twelfth century A. D.

The present paper is an introduction to the vast unexplored subject. With the total disappearance of the Jaina faith and Jaina communities, monasteries, *vasatis* or temples and all the vestiges had perished. With that all the Jaina literature in the Telugu language and all religious works of the Jainas had also disappeared. Whether this disappearance was due to the persistent persecution by the people of other religions or the rulers of the land, or whether it was due to the slow and steady adoption or absorption of the best and noblest elements of Jainism into the Mono-theistic Brahmanism which had always strong leanings towards Mahēsvara worship, it cannot be said. The probability seems to be that the Jaina tenets were absorbed sometimes into the Saiva cult or the worship of *linga*, as the emblem of Siva or Mahēsvara, and sometimes into the Vaiṣṇava cult. So dominant and aggressive was the worship of Siva in the form of phallic emblem in Andhradēsa that three *lingas*, became celebrated and renowned all over the land.¹ That seems to be the reason for the origin of the appellation Trailingadēsa as a synonym for Andhradēsa. Andhrā became renowned and widely known as Trailingabhūmi, the 'Land of the Three *Lingas*', and the Andhras as Trailingas, or Telungas in a corrupt form. The reaction towards the Siva worship and the phallic emblem became so dominant that Jainism, like Buddhism, lost its entire character and entity, and quickly disappeared. The Jaina religious tenets or *Siddhāntas* and Jaina monastic orders, became part of the *Saiva-siddhāntas* and Saiva monastic orders like the Kālamukhas and Pāṇupatas; and Sarvōsvara, the first *Gaṇadhara* of the Jainas, who is however very much

1. The three *lingas* are the Mallikārjuna-*linga* on Śrīśailam, the Bhīmēśvara-*linga* at Dakṣārama (modern Drākṣārama in Godavari district) and the Kālēśvara-*linga* at Mahākālēśvaram near Manthana, at the confluence of the river Manneru with the Godavari in Mahādēvpur taluk, Karīm-nagar district in the Nizā's Dominions.

unlike Īsvara of Brahmanism became identical with Mahēsvara of the worshippers of Siva, who looked to the Vedas and Vēdaṅgas for spiritual knowledge and guidance.

Sewell in his *Topographical Lists of the Antiquities in the Madras Presidency* reports the existence of Jaina antiquities and remains in almost all the districts which form the Andhra area in British India. These antiquities and remains have not been, however, properly noted and examined by the Archæological Survey of India. Even known places like Rāmatirtham near Vizianagaram in Vizagapatam district, Piṭhāpuram, Nēdunūru, Taṭipāka, Kāzalūru, Āryavaṭam in East Godavari, Pālakollu, Bhīmavaram, Gaṇapa-varam in West Godavari, Guḍivaḍa, Bezwada, Niḍamarṛu in Kistna, Palakalūru, Sattenapalli, Dharaṇikōṭa, Candavōlu, Dharmavaram, Addanki, Kandukūr and other places in Guntur, Nellore in Nellore district, Peḍḍamuḍiyam, Dānavulapāḍu, Nāyakallu, Yācavaram in Cuddapah and several places in Anantapur and Bellary districts have not been examined at all by the Archæological Survey. Apparently, the Department has not as much enthusiasm for the Jaina faith as they have for the Buddhism. The list given above is by no means exhaustive. It is my hope that one day a systematic and scientific survey of all the ancient villages and village sites (called *pāḍu*) would be undertaken by the Archæological Survey of India, which alone would bring to light the hidden material for the reconstruction of the religious history of Andhradēsa.

The term *pāḍu* in Telugu means to-day, 'a deserted village site'. But it seems to be the same as the Prakrit *pāḍa* which means 'a suburb'. It is, therefore, probable that *pāḍas* or *pāḍus* in Andhradēsa were originally suburbs of flourishing villages, which were Jaina monastic settlements and where very often the Jaina house-holders (*śrāvakas*) also lived. There are to-day numerous villages and deserted village-sites which have the name-ending 'pāḍu'; and those must have been Jaina village suburbs originally. One frequently hears of the *Jaina-pāḍu* in several villages; and this indicates more than anything else that those *Jaina-pāḍus* were Jaina monastic settlements, with a few streets containing houses of pious lay followers of Jaina faith surrounding them, that flourished as suburbs by the side of large villages and towns, in ancient period. Penṭapāḍu a large flourishing village in West Godavari district, for example, seems to be a former Jaina settlement. It is called even to-day 'Bairāgula-Penṭapāḍu', which is at once reminiscent of its connection with the *yōgis* of Jaina monasteries in former times. ¹

1. Even to-day, there is a *matha* for *bairagis* in that village.

The earliest reference to Jainism in Andhradēsa, if Kalinga is also to be reckoned as an integral part of Andhrā as it is in fact to-day, is in the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravēla.¹ The kingdom of Kalinga of the time of Emperor Khāravēla extended roughly from the banks of the Ganges in Magadha to the Godavari in the south, along the eastern seaboard of India. Khāravēla's capital was Kalinganagari, which lay near the mouth of the Vamsadhāra and which was swallowed up by the sea some centuries back. The modern Kalingapatam in Chicacole taluk may, therefore, be reasonably assumed to be the relic of the once famous city of Kalinganagari. From the Hathigumpha inscription it is evident that Jainism was in a prosperous condition in Kalinga during the second century B.C. Tradition attests to the fact stated in the Jaina literature that Varddhamaṇa Mahāvira went to Kalinga where his father's friend was ruling² and preached Jainism there.³ Evidently at a spot on the Kumārī Hill where the Wheel of Conquest (*suparaka vijaya caka* : Skt. *Supravṛta vijaya-cakra*) had been well revolved, i.e. the religion of Jina had been preached, a symbolical grave called *Nisīdhī* or *Nisīdhā* in Jaina canonical terminology was erected, and from that spot of sacred associations, the *Jina-dharma* was preached in later times.⁴

King Khāravēla was a Jaina himself; he was called an *Aila*. His inscription opens with a salutation to the Arhats (*arihats*), literally those who conquered their internal enemies or Jinas and the Siddhas. The term *Aila* has been variously interpreted by our scholars, but none of them seems to be satisfactory. King Khāravēla is described as a 'layman devoted to the worship, who realised the nature of *jīva* (soul) and *dēha* (body).' These words relate to Jaina philosophy wherein the topic is very prominent.⁵ Khāravēla, who is called an *Aila* must have been, therefore, a high spiritual personage. In the Jaina religious order an *Aila* is a *śrāvaka* of the eleventh degree of spiritual eminence; the tenth being known as *kṣullaka*. About the close of the twelfth year of Khāravēla's reign, Magadha was conquered and the King of Āṅga-Magadha was compelled to surrender the image

1. The inscription is engraved partly in front and partly on the roof of the Hathigumpha, an artificial cave on the southern face of the Udayagiri, a low range of hills situated about three miles from Bhuvanēśvar in the Puri district of Orissa. The inscription was edited by K. P. Jayaswal in *JBORS*, Vol. XIII, p. 221 ff; and later jointly by R. D. Banerjee and K. P. Jayaswal in *Epigraphia India*, vol. XX, p. 71 ff.

2. *Haribhadrīya vṛtti*.

3. *JBORS*, vol. XIII, p. 223.

4. It was usual to construct symbolical graves for departed saints in sacred spots or *tirthas* and preach the Jaina doctrines at that spot. Several such graves (*Nisīdhī* or *Nisīdhā*) must have existed in Andhra and Kalinga in former times.

5. Stevenson; *Heart of Jainism*, Chap. VII.

of Kalinga-Jina, i.e. the Jina of Kalinga which was carried away roughly two centuries back by King Nanda, with all the treasures of the temple in which it was placed. Khāravēla built for the image of Kalinga-Jina a lofty and marvellous temple, evidently in his capital. It is believed that the Jina of Kalinga was Sitalanātha,¹ who was born at Bhadalapura or Bhadrapura which has been identified with Bhadrā-chalam on the Godavari in East Godavari district.²

In the thirteenth year of Khāravēla's reign an important event in the history of Jainism took place. The Jaina tradition asserts that in the reign of Candragupta-Maurya, a Jaina conference was held at Pāṭaliputra, after the twelve years' famine was over, for the recovery and restoration of the lost Jaina Sacred Texts, but that no agreement was reached and the conference therefore dispersed. During the reign of Khāravēla, which was roughly two centuries afterwards, the compilation was successfully carried out. Khāravēla's wide conquests and enormous political influence which extended from the borders of the Punjab on the north-west to the confines of Bengal on the east, and from the banks of the Cauveri on the south to the kingdom of Magadha on the north, made it possible for him to accomplish the great task of the compilation and restoration of the Jaina Sacred Texts. The compilation (*upādayati*) was the crowning act of glory of Khāravēla's reign. In the thirteenth year, Kharavela invited learned Jainas, presumably Svētāmbara monks, from all quarters of India to assemble in a conference (*samghayanam*) evidently on the Kumārī Hill, near the relic depositary of the Arhat, meaning perhaps Vardhamāna Mahāvīra himself. And there under the inspiration and patronage of that illustrious Jaina monarch, all the assembled Jaina learned men put together once more the scattered or lost Sacred Texts of the Jainas. To those assembled monks and preachers of the *Jina dharma*, King Khāravēla respectfully presented China silks and White robes, and treated them in a magnificent and royal fashion. On that occasion seven only out of the eleven *angas*³ of the Jainas were recovered. The Kumārī Hill has not been identified.⁴ And likewise the great religious enterprise of Khāravēla which was an act of emulation of Candragupta-Maurya and Aśoka was completely forgotten by the posterity. All traces of Jainism that once flourished in Kalinga are also completely forsaken, forgotten and lost. Rāmātīrtham the greatest Jaina centre of Kalinga prospered till the end of the eleventh century and thereafter ceased to thrive as such.

1. *Ep. Ind.* vol. XX. p. 85.

2. *Ind. Ant.* vol. II, p. 136.

3. Here the passage ".....oboyaṭhi Aṅga-satikam turīyam upādayati"(L. 16) is a little confused and the interpretation too is confused. One school of the Jainas maintains that only 11 angas were recovered after their loss.

4. Could Kumārī Hill be identical with Rāmātīrtham Hill ?

The Chinese Pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, who sojourned some time in Andhrā during the latter part of the reign of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana in the seventh century speaks of the *Nigranthas* i. e. Jains and their two well-known sects, the Digambaras and Svētāmbaras, that flourished in Andhradēsa at that time. He refers to the *Nigranthas* in much the same indifferent way as he speaks of the Brāhmanas and worshippers in the Dēva temples. Though we do not obtain any information from his itinerary about the state of Jainism in the land we can at least conclude that Jainism was flourishing at that time and that there were numerous adherents of both the sects in the country. We have however, no materials to construct the history of Jainism in Andhradēsa, during the first six centuries of the Christian era or before.

That Jainism flourished and had also powerful supporters in the realm during the Cālukya Epoch is clearly evidenced by four copper-plate grants of that period. Of them, one belongs to the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana III (719-755 A. D.),¹ and the remaining three to the period of Ammarāja II (945-970 A. D.). It is interesting that while the reigning monarchs were invariably *parama-māhēśvatas*, (devout worshippers of Mahēśvara-Siva), sometimes members of the royal family, high officials of state, vassal kings and feudal lords happened to be followers of the Jaina faith and were in the language of the Jainas, either *Śrāvakis* or *Śrāvakas*, i. e. lay female and male followers of the *Jina-dharma*.

The Musinikuṇḍa grant of Viṣṇuvardhana III is the earliest record which speaks of the prosperous state of Jainism in Andhradēsa.² It refers to the venerable community of the Surasta Gaṇa or Kavuṛūri Gaṇa of the Saṅgha-Anvaya which had apparently its seat at Bezwada, and to the Monk, the venerable Kālībhadrācārya who had another name Dēvanandin. The record further mentions the lineage of the pontiff, which goes into roughly eight generations. The inscription records the grant of the village of Musinikuṇḍa in Tōṅka-Natavāḍi-*viśṇya* to the venerable Kālībhadrācārya for the benefit of the Jaina temple, Naḍumbi-vasati at Bezwada, presumably built by Ayyaṇa-mahādēvī, queen of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana (624-641 A. D.), for the purpose of performing uninterrupted *pūja* (worship) of the venerable *arhats*. Kālībhadrācārya appears to be the pontiff of the Kavuṛūri Gaṇa. He was the disciple's disciple of Rāvinandi Ācārya alias Kamalabhadra-cārya. Among his spiritual ancestors, Candraprabhācārya, then his

1. This period is in accordance with my *Revised Chronology of the Eastern Calukyas*. See J. H. R. S. Vol. IX, Part IV.

2. C. P. No. 16 of 1916-17. The grant is still unpublished. I am deeply indebted to the Govt. Epigraphist for India and the Director-General of Archaeology in India for their kindness in granting me permission to consult this important record.

pupil's pupil Ravicandrācārya and then his disciple's disciple Ravi-nandin are mentioned. Kālībhadrācārya is spoken of as having made the entire circle of kings obedient to him by the power of his spiritual knowledge, *Aṣṭāṅga-divya-jñāna*, the exact meaning or significance of which is not clear. Perhaps, it means that Ācārya Kālībhadrā knew by heart eight out of the twelve *Āṅgas* of the Jainas. From the meagre information that is now available it is not possible to say whether these Jaina pontiffs were Digambaras or Svētāmbaras. It is, however, clear that Jainism had taken deep roots in Andhradēsa even before the establishment of the Caḷukya sovereignty. The terms *ācārya* and *arhat* that occur in this connection require some explanation. *Arhats* are those divines who seek their own *mukti* or emancipation of their souls: they carry a *pinchha* or a bundle of peacock tail feathers as an ornament or banner denoting their religious dignity.¹ *Ācārya* is a *sādhu* or *muni* who has acquired the right not only of reading the Sacred Text (*Mūla*) but also of explaining it in an authoritative manner. An *ācārya*² who has risen to be the head of his Gaccha is called *Sūri*. It is not known if the Saṅgha-Anvaya mentioned above was the same as the Mūla Saṅgha, which had its commencement from the year 683 after the *Nirvāṇa* of the glorious Mahāvīra,³ which would fall about 156 A.D. In the Jaina monastic terminology the words *anvaya kula*, *santāna* and *āmnāya*, are synonymous, and mean 'generations.' These terms seem to be peculiar, sometimes to certain localities and Gacchas. It appears that while the terms *kulakrama* or *kula*, *santāna* and *āmnāya* are popular in the Western India, Rajaputana and Karmāṭadēsa, the appellation *āmnāya* seems to be peculiar to Andhradēsa. In the same manner the terms *Gaṇa* and *Gaccha* are said to be synonymous; accordingly it happened frequently that one and the same community had two names as in the Musinikuṇḍa grant. The Surasta Gaṇa was also known as Kavurūri Gaṇa,

It is not known how many *anvayas* or lines of Jaina monastic orders and Gacchas, of which it is said they were 84 in number, existed in Andhradēsa in the early times. It is also not known whether both the Digambaras and Svētāmbara sects flourished side by side at that period. For the present we have no materials at our disposal to pursue the study further. But it is fairly certain that the Digambaras were by far the more popular sect in Andhradēsa as elsewhere as may be gathered from the inscriptions that have so far come to light. But the Digambaras of Andhradēsa, like those of Mahārāṣṭra and Gujerat, probably were Digambaras outwardly but in reality followed the observances of the Svētāmbaras.

1. *Ind. Ant.* XI, p. 273, n.1; and *Ind. Ant.* XVIII, p. 313, n. 18.

2. *Ind. Ant.* XIX, p. 234.

4. *Ind. Ant.* XX, p. 350.

For two centuries roughly afterwards, there is no evidence of the existence of Jainism in Andhradēśa. But on that account it cannot be presumed that Jainism did not exist in the land. For the present evidence is lacking. There are three records of the time Ammarāja II which speak of Jainism as a very popular religion in the tenth century. It appears further that while the king was a devout worshipper of Mahāvara-Siva, he was compelled, not perhaps without some sort of compunction, to extend his patronage to Jainism on account of the peculiar environment he was in and the circumstances that prevailed then.

The Kalucumbarru grant¹ is more interesting than the rest, for it gives new names in the Jaina monastic order which are not known from any other source. It registers the grant of a village named Kalucumbarru in the Attili-nāṇḍu-*viśaya* (province) to a Jaina teacher named Arhanandin, belonging to the Valahari Gaṇa and Aḍḍakali Gaccha, for the purpose of providing for repairs to the *satrālaya* or charitable dining-hall of the Jaina temple 'Saravalōkārāya Jinabhavana.'² The grant was made by Ammarāja II; but it was caused to be given the lady Cāmekāmbā, of the Paṭṭavardhika lineage. She was presumably the favourite courtesan (*gaṇikā*) of the king, and a lay pupil (*śrāvaki*) of the Jaina teacher, Ācārya Arhanandin. King Ammarāja II yielded apparently to the persuasion of his beautiful favourite mistress, who is referred to as 'a *śrāvaki* who delights in the teachings of learned people.' Arhanandin's preceptor was Ayyapōti-Muni, who was "virtuous, and masterful, and possessed of unmeasured fame and was very intelligent"; his preceptor was the saint Sakala-Candrasiddhānta-Muni, "who possessed of virtues which were very manifest, and who was thoroughly well versed in the *Siddhānta*", i.e. the *Jaina Siddhānta* writings. The ascetics of the Valahari Gaṇa of the Aḍḍakali Gaccha, it is said, were renowned for their charitable disposition, "as their desires were always bent on granting excellent food to the Jaina ascetics (*śramiṇas*) of the four castes."³ This clearly shows that rigid caste such as such existed in Jainism, both outside and inside the monastic orders as it did in Brahmanism.

On another occasion Ammarāja II, having been requested by his vassal chief Durgarāja, who was the great grand-son of Paṇḍaraṅga and the *rāja-viśay-ādhyakṣa*, 'Governor of the province' of Kammarāṣṭra, granted the hamlet of Maliyampūṇḍi to the Jaina temple (*Jinālaya*) called 'Kāṭakabharaṇa-Jinālaya' which lay in

1. *Ep. Ind.* VII, pp. 177 ff.

2. *Loc. cit.* text lines 50-61.

3. अङ्ककालेच्छनामा बलहारिण प्रतीत विख्यात यथाः ।

चातुर्वर्ण्यश्रमणविशेषान्नश्रमणनाभिलषितमनस्कः ॥

the south of Dharmapuri. The place is the same as Dharamavaram in the Ongole taluk, Guntur district. Durgaraja, it will be remembered, was the *Kaṭakādhiśā*, *Kaṭakarāja*, or the governor of the *Kaṭaka*, the king's capital and the *ājñapti* (executor) of the Kalucumbarru grant. The *Kaṭakābharāṇa-Jināldya* was apparently named after the chief-tain Durgarāja who bore the epithet *Kaṭakābharāṇa*, and was placed in charge of the pontiff of the *Yāpanīya Saṃgha* for whose benefit apparently the temple was built by Durgarāja. The lineage of the pontiff is stated as follows: There was the lord of ascetics, Jinanandī, "who resembled the *Gaṇadharas*, of the *Punnāga-vṛkṣa Mūla Gaṇa*, of the pure and worthy *Nandi Gaccha* and who, was the chief lord of the *Kōṭimaḍuva Gaṇa*, which is worshipped by the *Yāpanīya Saṃgha*." His first disciple was *Divākara-Muni*, who was the store house of wisdom like the *Kēvalins*, and highly virtuous, and resembled the former *Jinas*. He was the abode of penance and his disciple was *Śrīmāṇḍiradēva-Muni*, who was the possessed the *pratihārya-mahimā*, the 'power of working miracles', and 'who was praised by all the learned people of the world'.

The disciples of *Mahāvīra* were called *Gaṇadharas*; they were eleven in number according to the historical records of the *Jainas*.¹ The saint *Divākara-Muni* is referred to as *Kēvala-jñāna-nidhiḥ*, which seems to be a technical expression. For, according to the *Jaina* tradition there were three *Kēvalins*, *Sudharman* who died before his master, *Gautama* who survived his master for a month and *Jambusvāmin*, the pupil of *Sudharman*. These three *Kevalins* were among the eleven *Gaṇadharas* but on account of their superior knowledge they became marked out as the three *Kēvalins*. And *Divākara* is apparently compared to those *Kēvalins*.

The *Nandi Gaccha* is said to be a branch of the *Mūla Saṃgha*, which is the original community that was founded by *Mahāvīra* himself.² *Nandi Gaccha* is also known by the appellation *Sarasvatī Gaccha*; it is also known as *Kundakunda-Anvaya*. The appellation seems to have been acquired from the celebrated fifth pontiff *Kundakunda*.³ That saint, strangely enough, is claimed to be an *Andhrā*, *Kannaḍiga* and a *Tamil* successively by all of them. Whatever might be his origin and nationality, *Kundakunda* was celebrated as a great *Jaina* saint. The *anvaya* to which he belonged took the name after him as *Kundakund-anvaya*. *Kundakunda* had four other names, *Padmanandi*, *Vakragriva*, *Gṛddhapiccha* and *Ēlācārya*. The founder of the *Kundakunda-anvaya* was a certain *Maghanandin*, one of the four disciples of *Gupti-gupta*, each of whom

1. *Ind. Ant.* XI, p. 246.

2. *Ind. Ant.* XX, p. 343.

3. *Ind. Ant.* XX, p. 342-3.

founded a separate Gaccha.¹ From Maghanandin derived the two names, namely, Nandi Saṃgha and Nandi Āmnāya. A fourth name, of the Nandi Gaccha is Balātākara Gaṇa. How this name was acquired it cannot be known. The Gaccha has also a fifth name, Parijāta Gaccha. The Punnāga-vṛkṣa Mūla Gaṇa of the Nandi Saṃgha or Nandi Gaccha of the Yāpanīyas flourished in Kārṇāṭadēsa, about the same time as in Aṇḍhrādēsa or probably a little earlier. Comparitively little is known hitherto about the Yāpanīyas. In the *Bhadrabāhucarita*, we are told that king Bhūpala of Karahāṭa,² at the request his wife Nṛkuladēvā, invited the Svētāmbara monks of Valabhī to come to his city. "But beholding them dressed in white garments, he turned away in disgust from them, and did not receive them before they had yielded to the queen's entreaties to cast off their clothes." This was the origin of the Yāpanīya Saṃgha, the members of which "had the appearance of Digambaras, but the observances of Svētāmbaras"³ A similar account is given in the *Pañcamārgotpatti*, a work in Tamil mixed with Sanskrit, propounding the origin of the five unorthodox Jaina sects. According to that, it is stated that "out of them (the Svētāmbaras) proceeded a class termed Yavaniya who were unclothed ascetics: They taught some opposite tenets, relative to prescribed fasts, and to prohibited periods of journeying."⁴ In a *paṭṭāvali* of the Digambaras, published by Dr. Hoernle,⁵ it is stated on the authority of *Nūlisāra*, that the Yāpanīya-Saṃgha was one of the five false Jaina sects, and though no details are given, the passage is of some interest as probably containing a second name of the sect, the Yāpuli Gaccha or Yāpuliyas. Dr. Hultsch observes that the Yāpanīyas existed from about the fifth to the twelfth century, in the Southern Mahārāṣṭra and Kārṇāṭadēsa.⁶ So far as Andhradēsa is concerned the Maliyānpūṇḍi grant is the only record that is so far known, which refers to the existence of this sect, in the tenth century.

In the Masulipatam plates of Ammaraja the II⁷ mention is made of a Jaina Pontiff (*ācārya*), preceptor of the two noblemen, Bhīma and Naravāhana II. It appears from that inscription that the father and grandfather of the chieftains were loyal servants of both King Caḷukya-Bhīma II and his elder brother Amma I, and that Caḷukya Bhīma II received considerable support from them in his task of regaining the throne from Yuddhamalla. Bhīma and Naravāhana II obtained through the favour of King Caḷukya-Bhīma II

1. *Ibid.*

2. Karahāṭa or modern Karāḍ lies on the Satāra district, Bombay Presidency.

3. *Ep. Ind.* IV, p. 888-9.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ind. Ant.* XXI, p. 67 ff. Paragraphs 16 and 17.

6. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV p. 839.

7. *Ep. Ind.* XXI, p. 268 ff.

-the insignia of feudal chieftainship. They were devoted to *Jina-dharma*, like their parents and ancestors. Their preceptor was the renowned Jayasēna, who was also known as Nāthasēna, and was himself the disciple of Candrasēna. Jayasēna was a master of all the Sastras; he was thoroughly well versed in the *Siddhānta* or *Jaina-siddhānta*. He acquired the reputation of being proficient in *Parasamaya*, that is to say, he reached that spiritual stage whereat his soul became absorbed in non-self for the liberation of all mankind from bondage. He was honoured by *śrāvakas*, *kṣapaṇakas*, *kṣullakas*, and the *ajjakas*. For the benefit of the Jaina pontiff, the venerable Jayasēna-Nāthasēna the two noblemen requested Ammarāja II to grant a village for the purpose of constructing two *Jina-bhavanas* at Bezvada, and the King accordingly granted the village of Peda-Gāḷeḍiparru in the Velanāṇḍu-*viṣaya*, (modern Peda-Gāḷelavarṛu in Tenāli taluk), having exempted it from all kinds of burdens of taxation.

The *śrāvakas*, *kṣapaṇakas*, *kṣullakas* and *ajjakas* mentioned in the inscription seem to be names of the various orders of the Jainas. The *śrāvakas* are lay worshippers and correspond to the *upāsakas* of the Buddhist order. The *kṣapaṇakas* are Jaina *yatis* who received the proper initiation according to the school of the Digambaras. A Jaina *kṣullaka* is a *śrāvaka* of a high order belonging to the tenth degree and seems to correspond to the *dāsa* of the *Bhāgavata-sampradāya*. *Ajjikas* were probably female ascetics or nuns who, according to the Jaina doctrines, wore only a white sari. The epithet *Parasamaya-paṭuh* that is given to Jayasēna is a highly technical expression and belongs to the Jaina philosophical terminology. The *Samayasāra* of Kundakundacārya, which is a discourse that gives a knowledge of the Highest Soul, explains the *Parasamaya* and *Sva samaya* as follows:

जीवश्चारिन्द्रान्नज्ञानस्थितस्तं हि स्वसमयंजानीहि ।

पुद्गलकर्मोपदेशस्थितं च जानी हि परसमयम् ॥

"Know that *sva samaya* is the soul which is concentrated in right conduct, belief and knowledge and which is self-absorbed. And *Para samaya* is the soul which stands in the condition determined by the operation of the Karmic matter or bondage and which is absorbed in the non-self."²

1. *Ibid.* Text line 48.

Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao refutes my conjecture that these chiefs might be Sudras and states that because they are said to be born in the Trinayana-kula, they might be Śaivas. I had not the opportunity of contradicting him then though the statement is manifestly untenable. The chieftains claimed to be Jainas, in unequivocal terms. Their Grevya-gotra and Trinayana-kula seem to indicate a Jaina gotra and Jaina lineage and not the sort of thing that is suggested by Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao in Note 2 on the page 272 (*Loc. cit.*)

2. *Ep. Ind.* XXIV p. 272.

A very interesting feature about this charter is that, while it is a grant to the Jaina religion and while the king is a devotee of Śiva, it begins with a prayer to Lord Viṣṇu, the wielder of the *Cakra*. A severe warning to protect the charity is given to the people by the king, who is described as a terror to his enemies, (line 63). Ammarāja II, like his ancestors, was a *Paramamāhēśvara*; in many of his grants occurs the passage “अयुगलोचनपदकमलविलसन्मधुपायमानः * परममाहेश्वरः”¹ which describes his faith.

For another century roughly thereafter we do not hear of Jainism again. We learn from an inscription at Rāmatīrtham that Jainism continued to flourish till the beginning of the eleventh century and that Rāmatīrtham was considered to be a place of pilgrimage by the Jainas from the very early times. That is clearly evidenced by the existence of some Jaina names of an earlier period written in red paint on the ceiling of the *Pāṇḍava-pāñca*², and from another inscription which is engraved upon a pedestal of a broken Jaina image,³ found on the Gurubhatakonda hill. It records that the image was set up by a certain Jaina *śrāvaka*, Prammi-setṭi, of Candavōlu in the Omgerumārgga, i.e. the modern Repalli taluk, Guntur district. But more interesting than this record is the other which comes from the same place.⁴ It states that the saint Trikalayōgi-Siddhāntadēva-Muni, the presiding *ācārya* or head of the Dēsi Gaṇa and the spiritual teacher (*guru*) of the reigning king, Vimalāditya (1011–1022 A. D.), came on pilgrimage to Rāmatīrtham and paid respects to Rāmakonda, i.e. the Ramatīrtham Hill. Vimalāditya is referred to by his titles also as *Rājamārtāṇḍa* and *Mummaḍi-Bhīma*. The inscription is written in Kanarese language. Its existence at Rāmatīrtham suggests that the Jaina teacher *Ācārya* Trikalayōgi-Siddhāntadēva was a Kannāḍiga by birth and that he apparently visited Andhradēsa and converted Vimalāditya to Jainism, who was a *Parama māhēśvara* till about the middle of 1019, A. D.⁵

With the decline and disappearance of the Eastern Cālukya sovereignty in Andhradēsa, about the dawn of the twelfth century, Jainism lost its hold completely in the land. It may be asserted also that with the reign of Rājarāja-Narēndra, the son and successor of Vimalāditya, Jainism completely lost its royal patronage and perhaps

1. See the Taṇḍikonda, (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 161 ff.) and Elavarra (*Ind. Ant.* XII p. 15) grants.

2. The term ‘pāñca’ means in Telugu ‘a verandah under a terrace’ and in the context by implication, “an artificial cave.”

3. A. R. 882 of 1917.

4. A. R. 831 of 1917: A. R. S. E, 1917 138-4.

5. This is the date of Vimalāditya's Raṇastipūṇḍi grant. (*E. Ind.* VI p. 348 ff.)

even toleration. That illustrious monarch commanded Nanniya Bhaṭṭa, the greatest poet of the age and the noblest exponent of the Vedic Culture and the Purāṇas, to write the *Andhra-Mahābhārata* in the Telugu language. That work was evidently conceived and commanded to revive Brahmanism and to restore the worship of Mahēśvara-Siva in the land, and thus spread the Brahmanical ideals of conduct, devotion and traditions. With the emergence of the Brahmanical version of the *Andhra-Mahābhārata*, a gigantic impetus was given for the spread of Brahmanical traditions and ideals and once more to restore Andhradeśa to the renown of Trilinga-dēśa, 'the Land of the Three *Līngas*.' With it also disappeared in a miraculous manner all Telugu literature of the Jains of the earlier period. It is perhaps in this sense that we have to interpret the tradition that Nanniya Bhaṭṭa destroyed the *Andhra-Mahābhārata* of Atharvaṇācārya, a Jaina poet of doubtful contemporaneity, by getting it thrown into the river Godavari.

ERRATA

Page 191 line 19 Read 'to be given by the' for 'to be given the'

REVIEWS

THE ORIGINS OF PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

BY BISHESHWAR PRASAD, D. Litt. Allahabad University.

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The story of the relations between the central government in British India and the several provincial governments has been narrated by several historians. It passed through a number of stages leading first to what may be called administrative decentralisation and next to autonomy of the Provinces. But this process began only about 1870. British rule however had been in existence in India for at least one hundred and twenty years before this date. And during this long period the system of provincial administration did not remain unchanged. Till the passing of the Regulating Act in 1773 there was no central government at all. The three Presidencies of Fort. St. George, Bombay and Fort William remained directly under the control of the Board of Directors in England. A central authority consisting of the Governor-General of Bengal and his council was created under the Regulating Act. Its powers over provincial governments were nominal in the beginning. They were gradually increased by successive acts of Parliament until they reached a climax under the Charter Act of 1833. It is from this date that Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad begins his narrative. He describes at great length and with a wealth of detail the nature and effects of over-centralisation as it was put into operation from 1834. The Provinces lost their individuality. They were deprived of all powers of legislation and in matters administrative and financial they became completely dependent on the centre. All this threw a heavy burden on the central authorities and created much resentment in the provinces. The strain was most acute in the field of finance.

The first step in decentralisation was taken by Lord Mayo's government in 1870. Dr. Prasad has given us a critical account of Mayo's Scheme and the modifications which it underwent during the next seventeen years. There was however a setback to this movement after 1887; and during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon centralization was carried to extremes. He made a fetish of efficiency though there was not much to indicate that the central government was capable of achieving better administrative results than the provincial governments. The top-heavy system attracted the attention of Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India and he appointed the Royal Commission on De-centralisation which reported in 1909. It was also the time when a larger non-official element was introduced into Provincial Legislatures. In consequence of a combination of events like these decentralisation extended many steps further in the years

after 1909. All the details connected with the progress of this movement have been brought together and carefully analysed by the learned author. His comments are based on substantial evidence and his conclusions are sound and well-balanced.

One special feature of the book is that a fairly large amount of space is devoted to de-centralisation in legislative and administrative spheres. So far as financial de-centralisation is concerned it may be stated that many other authors have treated it exhaustively and there is not much that is new which any writer can state. But the other spheres are still unexplored and the first attempts at exploring them have been made and made successfully by Dr. Prasad. It would have been better if he had been able to deal more elaborately with these matters.

As one studies the book one will be struck by two or three features in the history of de-centralisation. One is that the move in favour of autonomy came originally from the provincial governments and the members of the civil service. They were even more active than non-officials. A second feature is the difficulty that has been experienced throughout in drawing a clear line of distinction between principles and details in the several administrative fields. In some cases even petty matters of details have been raised to the status of a principle and made the basis of central intervention. A third feature is the recognition by authorities in India as well as in England that without establishing popular legislatures in the provinces autonomy of a real character could not be thought of. It was always pointed out that autonomy could be conferred only on governments which became responsible to elected legislatures. Otherwise there was a danger that provincial governors would become autocratic. There was thus a close connection between the growth of self-government in the country and progress towards decentralisation and this connection is clearly traced by Dr. Prasad. It was only in 1919 that autonomy as distinguished from De-centralisation became a possibility because it was only under the Act of that year—based as it was on the famous declaration of August 1917 made during the critical days of the last World War—that some power was really transferred to people's elected representatives.

One of the short comings of the book is that the author has not made a fuller use of the non-official literature on the subject. It is true that he has drawn a great deal from the writings and speeches of Gokhale, Wacha and several other Indian leaders. But more space should have been given to the nature of the influence exercised by public opinion on the movement towards autonomy. Newspapers, journals, proceedings and discussions of political organisations like the National Congress and speeches of eminent Indians constitute a vast

field that deserve to be investigated into. The author has however preferred to walk through the beaten track. Barring this defect it may be asserted that the book is an illuminating study of an important aspect of Indian constitutional history and deserves to occupy an important place among the books dealing with this subject.

THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF THE MUGHALS.

By DR. P. SARAN, M.A., Ph.D. (London). Department of History, Benares Hindu University, Kitabistan, Allahabad 1941. Price Rs. 2.

The pioneer work begun by Sir Jadunath Sirkar in the field of Mughal history is bearing rich fruit. Many books of great value have appeared in recent years on that subject, some supporting and elaborating his ideas and others examining them in a critical spirit. Researches also are being made into the periods and aspects of Mughal history to which he did not pay much attention. Among such research works Dr. Saran's THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF THE MUGHALS deserves to occupy a high and important place. It is a substantial and weighty contribution to our knowledge of the machinery of provincial and local government under Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan, based on an exhaustive study and analysis of all the available material and rich as a storehouse of valuable information on one branch of Mughal administration. The volume contains not only a descriptive account of the machinery of local government but also an estimate of the results produced by its actual working and the spirit which animated the great Mughal Emperors and their official representatives in promoting the general welfare of their subjects.

It is neither easy nor desirable to summarise the conclusions arrived at by Dr. Saran. His book is a complete survey of all questions relating to the system of provincial government of the Mughals. He deals with the nature of political and administrative areas of the empire, the distinction between regions directly ruled by the Mughals and those that continued to be under the government of tributary chieftains, the division of the provinces into *Sircars* and *Paragannahs*, the different ranks of officials in charge of the various administrative divisions, the functions discharged by each one of these officials, the organisation of courts and the nature of civil and criminal law that was administered in them, the system of provincial finance and the extent to which education, famine relief, public works and other objects of public welfare were promoted.

Dr. Saran is at his best in criticising the views of other writers on the subject. As a controversialist he has few equals, though one cannot always be sure whether he has scored as much success against his opponents as he seems to think. Attention may be drawn in this connection to his attack on Dr. Zanungeo's views on the *Sircars* in the days of Sher Shah, on Moreland's interpretation of Sir Thomas Roe's list of the "Kingdoms and Provinces subject to the Great Mogoll", and on the views of Sirkar and several other writers on the subjects of courts and their organisation. One may or may not agree with all his conclusions but one has to give credit to the ability with which he has argued his case. It is however to be regretted that in his enthusiasm in criticising others he

himself has fallen into a number of inconsistencies and in some cases he has arrived at conclusions for which the data are not adequate. On the question of the extent to which Sher Shah was an innovator or the debt which Akbar owed to him his views are not quite consistent with each other. In his estimate also of the actual results achieved, he is carried away more by general impressions than by the evidence available. A knowledge of the judicial machinery and a certain number of allusions to the ideals of justice entertained by emperors cannot constitute a basis for the conclusion that the Mughals attained no mean success in providing protection and justice to the people. "Mean" is a treacherous word. When there are no records giving us the number of cases of appeal, the kind of judgments delivered, and the cost or the time involved in getting justice no objective conclusion is possible in a matter like this. A serious defect with Dr. Saran is the temptation to which he succumbs in this matter of drawing inferences even when the data are absent or meagre. His observation that "this much is *certain*, that side by side with the official post, private post (dak) was also carried with *equal* facility, regularity and speed", is an instance of this. Though he says that there are scarcely *any* records to give us detailed information about the schools and seminaries run by the State (p. 405) he presumes the existence of schools and seminaries *throughout* the country (p. 406) and agrees with H. G. Wells that Akbar set up a number of Moslem and Hindu Schools and that he knew less and did more for India in these (educational) matters than the British who succeeded him. The attention paid by Mughal rulers to the construction of tanks is based not on any records of what they actually did but on what the ancient Hindu rulers accomplished and what private enterprise achieved in more recent times (Note on p. 411-13 and p. 415). Manrique's very lucid and full account of the conditions of the life of prisoners (p. 393-4) creates the impression not that they were satisfactory but that more depended on influence than on rules and regulations. A glaring instance of drawing conclusions from insufficient data is the glowing description of the work of Village Communities in Mughal India based not on contemporary records but on what existed in the Chola Empire as described in inscriptions and on what Malcolm, Munro, Metcalfe and Sleeman wrote in the 19th century. The authorities quoted are John Matthai's *Village Government* in British India and Prof. K. A. Nilakantan's *Studies in Chola History and Administration*. There is no warrant whatever for remarks like "blind faith in a dead *ritualistic religion* as taught by the selfish and hypocritical brahmins" on page 28. There are many other remarks of this sort indicating that Dr. Saran is not free from prejudices.

In spite however of certain hasty judgments like these, Dr. Saran's book possesses outstanding merits and is a model of critical research.

Andhra University,
GUNTUR.

M. VENKATARANGAIYA.

NOTES OF THE QUARTERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL

HELD ON 7-4-1940, AT 7-30 A. M.

Present:- Sri N. Kameswara Rao—Vice-President (*in the chair*)
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
Sri R. Subba Rao
Sri B. Viswanatha Sastri
Sri K. J. Gopala Rao
Rajah Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
Sri M. Sambasiva Rao
Sri Vaddadi Apparao

1. Resolved that the Annual Report prepared by the Secretary and read, be adopted subject to the suggestions made in the margin of the draft, which should be carried into effect.

2. Resolved that the Statements of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1939-40 submitted by the Treasurer be adopted.

3. Resolved that the Report for the year 1939-40 of the working of the Library and Museum read by the Librarian and Curator be adopted.

4. Resolved that the Report on the progress of work on the *Reddi Sanchika* presented by the Editor, Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao be approved and adopted.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE XIX ANNUAL GENERAL BODY

MEETING HELD ON 7-4-1940.

Members present:—

1. Sri N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu (Vice-President.)
2. Sri R. Subba Rao
3. Sri Raja K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
4. Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
5. Sri M. Sambasiva Rao
6. Sri Dr. M. Rama Rao
7. Sri Rebbapragada Subba Rao
8. Sri Vaddadi Appa Rao
9. Sri Adavi Sankara Rao
10. Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
11. Sri B. Viswanatha Sastri.

In the unavoidable absence of the President, the Vice-President Sri N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu took the chair.

The following Resolutions were adopted.

1. The Annual Report of the working of the Society for the year 1939-40 read by the Secretary (Sri B. V. Krishna Rao) moved for adoption by Mr. Vaddadi Apparao and seconded by Mr. G. Narayanaswami Aiyer, is unanimously adopted.

2. The Annual Report of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Society during the year 1939-40, read by the Treasurer is adopted unanimously. The General body made certain suggestions to be incorporated in the Report. The resolution was moved by Dr. M. Ramarao, and seconded by Mr. Rebbapragada Subbarao.

3. The Report of the working of the Society's Library and Musuem for the year 1939-40 is read by the Librarian. The resolution is moved by Mr. A. Sankararao and seconded by Dr. M. Rama Rao. The report is adopted unanimously.

4. The report on the progress of printing of the *Reddi Sanchika*, read by Mr. Vaddadi Apparao, and moved for adoption by Mr. R. Subba Rao and seconded by Mr. A. Sankara Rao, is unanimously accepted.

5. The following OFFICE-BEARERS were elected for the year 1940-41.

President: Khan Bahadur Yahya Ali Saheb Bahadur, M. A., B. L.

Vice-President: Sri N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu, B. A., B. L.

Secretary: Sri B. V. Krishna Rao, M. A., B. L.

Treasurer: Sri K. J. Gopala Rao, B. A., B. L.

Librarian & Curator: Sri A. Sankara Rao, B. A., L. T.

Ordinary Members of the Managing Council :

1. Sri R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T.
2. Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
3. Sri M. Anna Reddi, M. A., LL. B.
4. Sri M. Sambasiva Rao.

The above resolution was moved by Mr. R. Subba Rao and seconded by Mr. G. Narayanaswami Aiyer and supported by Dr. M. Rama Rao. Adopted unanimously.

6. Resolved further to place on record the Society's 'thanks to all the out-going Office-Bearers of the year 1939-40.

Put from the chair and adopted unanimously.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL
HELD ON 14—4—1940.

Present:—

Sri N. Kameswara Rao, (*in the chair*)
Sri B. V. Krishnarao
Sri A. Sankara Rao
Sri M. Anna Reddi.

Resolutions:—

1. That the following gentlemen be admitted as *Ordinary* members of the Society.

Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer, M. A., L. T.,
Lecturer. Govt. Arts College, Rajahmundry.

2. That the Post Office Savings Bank Account be closed in INNEPETA P. O. and a new S. B. Account be opened in RAJAHMUNDY Innespeta Co-operative Bank forthwith.

3. That Sri Dronamraju Kameswara Rao, B.A., G. D. A., R.A., be appointed *Auditor* for the year 1939-40 to audit the accounts.

4. That the following gentlemen be appointed to the LIBRARY COMMITTEE :—

1. Sri A. Sankara Rao. (Ex-officio) Librarian.
2. Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
3. Sri M. Anna Reddi
4. Sri R. Subba Rao.

Resolved that the Committee is requested to prepare a catalogue of books in the Library which will be printed.

5. Resolved to style Volume XIII of the *JAHRS* as the *Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao Memorial Volume*, and to print all the four parts in a consolidated form.

6. Accounts up to date are passed after checking.

7. Resolved that a shelf for placing the books of the Library be purchased as soon as funds are available.

8. Considered the desirability of entrusting the printing work of the *JAHRS* to any other press for the speedy execution of the work, or in the alternative to retain the work in the Razan Electric Press on such penal terms, for instance, as would disentitle the Proprietor of the Press for full rates if the work is again delayed beyond a certain time limit. Resolved to postpone the matter until the next meeting of the Council.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL
HELD ON 20th AUGUST 1940.

Present:—

Sri N. Kameswara Rao, Pantulu, (*in the chair*)
Sri B. V. Krishnarao
Sri M. Anna Reddi
Sri R. Subba Rao
Sri Raja K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur.

Resolved to remove the following names from the Roll of membership of the Society.

1. Sri D. Venkata Rao, M. A., L. T.,
Lecturer. C. D. College, Anantapur.
2. Sri G. Jagannathaswami, M. A., L. T.,
Retd. Headmaster, Challapalli, Kistna Dt.

The balance of subscription that may be due from them should be written off as they have expressed their inability to continue their membership any longer.

2. Resolved to accept the resignation of Khan Bahadur YAHYA ALI Saheb Bahadur of his office of the President of the Society as he has been transferred from the station, with regret.

Resolved further to accept with regret his resignation of the membership of the Society, too, with effect from 1—4—1940.

3. Resolved to check the Bills presented by the R. E. Press in respect of the printing work of Vol. XII, Part IV of the *JAHS* with the help of the Minutes Book, and to sanction the payment of any sum that may be found due to the said Press.

4. Resolved to pay an advance of Rs. 200 (Two Hundred) only for the present towards the printing of the *four* parts consolidated of Volume XIII to the S. R. P. Works, Rajahmundry, and thereby entrust the printing of the Journal to them on the conditions embodied in the written agreement executed by the Proprietor of the said S. R. P. Works, as soon as the grant from the District Board is received.

5. Resolved to pass the Accounts of the Society up to date from 14—4—40.

6. Resolved to accept the resignation of the Librarianship of the Society by Sri M. Sankara Rao, B. A., L. T., and to elect Sri M. Anna Reddi, as Librarian & Curator in the vacancy.

7. Resolved to elect Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur as the President of the Society.

8. Resolved that the printing bills in respect of the *Reddi Sanchika* submitted by the S. R. P. Works, might be checked by Mr. R. Subba Rao.

9. Considered the question of advancing a sum of Rs. 15/- to the Secretary towards travelling expenses for the purpose of going to Masulipatam, Bapatla, Nellore and other places for the purpose of enlisting support to the Society. Resolved that the question might lie over for the present.

10. Considered the question of the shifting the *Library, Museum and Reading Room* of the Society to the premises of the Industrial Museum, Fort, Rajahmundry. Resolved that the matter might lie over for the present.

11. Resolved to present an address of welcome to the Maharaja of Jeypore, Patron of the Society, on the occasion of his visit to Rajahmundry on the 25th August 1940 and to request Sri N. Kameswara Rao and Sri B. V. Krishna Rao to draft the address.

12. Resolved to elect Mr. G. Narayanaswami Aiyer to the Managing Council in the place of Mr. M. Anna Reddi who has been elected as the Librarian & Curator.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL
HELD ON 17—11—1940.

Present :—

Sri N. Kameswara Rao (*in the chair*)
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
Sri M. Anna Reddi
Sri R. Subba Rao
Raja Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao
Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
Sri M. Sambasiva Rao
Sri Vaddadi Appa Rao.

1. Resolved that the accounts up to 20—8—40 be checked and adopted.

2. Resolved that a sum of Rs. 28 (Twenty Eight) only be paid to the S. R. P. Works, in full satisfaction of their bill, in respect of printing *Reddi Sanchika*, dated 16—5—40 (since Rs. 20 were paid as advance on 1—9—40) and the balance of Rs. 3 be written off. The sum should be paid immediately.

3. Considered the printing bills of the Razan Electric Press, Rajahmundry and resolved that the checking and payment thereof may be allowed to lie over for the present.

4. Considered the question of granting a promotion of one rupee to the peon of the Society per mensem i. e. raise his pay from Rs. 6 to 7 per mensem from December 1940 and Resolved to enhance his pay to Rs. 7 per mensem from 1—12—1940.

5. Read letter from the General Secretary, *Fourth Indian History Congress*, Lahore. Resolved to elect the following gentlemen as delegates:—

1. Sri B. V. Krishna Rao, M. A., B. L.
2. Sri R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T.
3. Sri M. Anna Reddi, M. A., LL. B.

6. Considered the desirability of appointing a RULE MAKING COMMITTEE for the purpose of bringing the rules of the Society up to date, so as to facilitate printing thereof as copies of the Rules are out of print and out of date.

Resolved to appoint Messrs. B. V. Krishna Rao, G. Narayanaswami Aiyer and N. Kameswara Rao as members of the Rule Making Committee and to request the Committee to submit the DRAFT RULES by January 1941.

7. Resolved to approve of the action of the Secretary in giving the printing work of the Journal, Vol. XIII, and in paying an advance of Rs. 200 only to the Proprietor, Sujana Ranjani Printing Works, Rajahmundry.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL
HELD ON 17—12—1940 at 5-30 P. M.

1. Sri N. Kameswara Rao, Vice President (*in the chair*)
2. Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
3. Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
4. Rajah Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
5. Sri R. Subba Rao
6. Sri M. Anna Reddi.

Resolutions :—

1. Mr. *Vidvan* Ganti Jogi Somayajulu, M. A.,
Lecturer, Department of Telugu,
Andhra University, Waltair.

is admitted as an Ordinary Member of the Society for the year 1940-41.

The meeting was adjourned at this stage as it became late and was continued on the next day, i. e., 18—12—1940.

2. Read Letter dated 22—8—1940 from Rajah Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur expressing his inability to be the President of the Society.

Resolved to accept his resignation with regret.

3. The accounts up to date have been checked and passed. The period covered is from 20-8-1940 to 18-12-1940.

4. Resolved to elect Mr. N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu, Vice-President, as President of the Society.

5. Resolved to elect Mr. Rallabandi Subba Rao, M. A., L. T., as Vice-President, in the vacancy of Mr. N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu.

6. Resolved to elect Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao as an ordinary member of the Managing Council in the place of Mr. R. Subba Rao.

7. Checked all the Bills and payments in respect of printing of the *JAHS*, of the Razan Electric Press, Rajahmundry.

It has been found that the Bills for printing Vol. XI were paid in full and nothing is due in respect of them.

Resolved therefore, that with regard to the printing of Vol. XII Parts 1 to 4, after checking all the bills, it is found that a sum of Rs. 49-3-0 only is due and that the same be paid to him after obtaining a receipt from him in full discharge of his claims in respect of the printing of the *JAHS*.

Resolved further that Mr. R. Subba Rao and the Secretary should examine the sundry bills that have been outstanding for a long time and report to the Council before its next meeting about the actual amount that may be found due to him for payment.

8. Resolved *not* to print Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao's HISTORY OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYAS in the Journal of the Society, in Vol. XIII in supersession of the resolution passed by the Council on 25-1-1940.

9. Resolved further to issue the Vol. XIII part by part and not in a consolidated form.

(It means that Vol. XIII, *JAHS* will not be styled as *Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao Memorial Number*).

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL
HELD ON 18th FEBRUARY 1941 AT 6 P. M.

Members present :—

Sri N. Kameswara Rao, (*in the chair*) President.

Sri B. V. Krishna Rao

Rajah Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur

Sri R. Subba Rao

Sri M. Anna Reddi

Resolutions :—

1. Resolved to place on record the Society's sense of profound grief at the demise of Sri N. Subba Rao Pantulu garu, one of the

Hon. Presidents of the Society, who till the last minute of his life watched in sympathy the progress of the Society.

Resolved that the above resolution should be communicated to the bereaved members of his family.

2. Resolved to place on record the Society's deep sense of sorrow and loss at the death of Sri Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu, sometime President of the Society.

Resolved further to communicate the above resolution to the bereaved members of his family.

3. Accounts have been checked and passed up to date. The balance to-day on hand is Rs. 49-13-0 only.

4. Resolved that the 30th March 1941 be fixed for summoning the Annual General Body meeting; and a suitable programme be drawn up by the Secretary in consultation with Mr. R. Subba Rao and Mr. M. Anna Reddi.

5. All the minor bills for printing handbills, namely, (1) Nos. 2132 dated 21-2-1939 (2) No. 2114 dated 3-2-1939, (3) No. 2102 dated 1-1-39, (4) No. 2164 dated 16-4-1939, (5) No. 2186 dated 8-5-1939, (6) No. 2191 dated 15-5-1939 and (7) No. 2060 dated 15-11-1938 have been checked and found correct by Mr. R. Subba Rao and the Secretary.

After deducting the sums paid already it is found that a sum of Rs. 14/- only is due to the Razan Electric Press in respect of these bills. Resolved therefore to pay the said sum of Rs. 14/- to the Proprietor Razan Electric Press and obtain receipt from him in full satisfaction of his claims.

Resolved further that all further dealings be closed with the Razan Electric Press.

N. B. The Reddi Sanchika printing work alone remains to be settled.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 18-3-41.

Members present :—

1. Sri N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu, President.
2. Sri R. Subba Rao
3. Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
4. Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
5. Raja Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
6. Sri M. Anna Reddi

1. Resolved to give ten days' time till 29th March 1941 both days inclusive to the Razan Electric Press for commencing the printing of *Reddi Sanchika*. If by that date the Proprietor is not

able to commence the printing in his press, then the printing of the *Reddi Sanchika* be entrusted to another press, namely, S. R. P. Works, Rajahmundry.

2. Accounts from 18—12—1941 up-to-date i. e. 18—3—1941 checked and passed. Balance on hand is Rs. 21-11-3 only.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL
HELD ON 15—4—1941.

Present:—

Sri N. Kameswara Rao, *President*.
Sri R. Subba Rao
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
Sri Raja K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
Sri Vaddadi Appa Rao.
Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer

Resolutions:—

1. The Report and Remarks of the Auditor Mr. D. Kameswara Rao, B. A., G. D. A., R. A. of the accounts of the Society for the year 1939-40 have been adopted subject to the review of the Remarks.

It is hereby resolved to pay an honorarium of Rs. 10/- to the Auditor for his services.

Remarks:— The vouchers for Rs. 15/- re photographs are perfectly in order. (2) The practice of receiving moneys on behalf of the Society by two persons, Secretary and Treasurer will be avoided as far as possible. This involves certain practical difficulties. The Secretary will put a note in the *JAHRS* requesting the members and subscribers to remit their subscriptions direct to the Treasurer. But the Treasurer can avoid and need not write in the accounts (Journal) the detail that the particular item was received through the Secretary. It is the cause of all this trouble. (3) A statement of stock in trade of books will be prepared immediately.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE * MEETING OF THE GENERAL BODY
HELD ON 15—4—1941.

This is the adjourned meeting of the General Body which could not be held on the 6th April 1941 for want of quorum.

Members present:—

1. Sri N. Kameswara Rao, *President*.

* There need not be a quorum for an adjourned meeting of the General Body.

2. Sri R. Subba Rao
3. Sri B. V. Krishnarao
4. Sri Raja K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
5. Sri C. Atmaram
6. Sri Vaddadi Appa Rao
7. Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
8. Sri N. R. Kedari Rao
9. Sri C. Nagaraju

Resolutions :—

1. Resolved that the Annual Reports of the (1) Secretary, of the working of the Society, (2) Treasurer, of the Receipts and Expenditure and (3) Librarian & Curator, of the working of the Library and Reading Room of the Society be adopted.

Moved by Mr. C. Atmaram

Seconded by Mr. G. Narayanaswami Aiyer and

Supported by Mr. N. R. Kedari Rao

The report of the Auditor, regarding the accounts of the Society for the year 1939—40 be adopted.

Proposed by Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao

Seconded by Mr. R. Subba Rao.

2. Resolved that the following OFFICE-BEARERS be elected for the year 1941—42. The election took place unanimously.

President: Sri N. Kameswara Rao, B. A., B. L.,
Landholder and Advocate.

Vice-President: Sri R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T.

Secretary: Sri C. Atmaram, B. A., B. L.,

Treasurer: Sri K. J. Gopala Rao, B. A., B. L.,

Librarian & Curator: Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer, M. A., L. T.,

Ordinary Members of the Council :

1. Sri N. R. Kedari Rao, M. A., L. T.
2. Sri M. Anna Reddi, M. A., LL. B.
3. Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
4. Sri B. V. Krishna Rao, M. A., B. L.

3. Resolved that Mr. D. Kameswara Rao be elected as Auditor of the Society's accounts for the year 1940—41.

4. Resolved to place on record the high sense of gratitude and thankfulness of the Society to Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, M. A., B. L., the out-going Secretary for his great labour and inestimable love he

has shown towards the Society, for whose progress he has worked, unceasingly, for the last five years.

5. Resolved to place on record the thanks of the Society for the out-going office-bearers of the Society.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL
HELD ON 23RD APRIL 1941.

Present:—

Sri N. Kameswara Rao, President.
Sri Rallabandi Subba Rao
Sri V. Apparao
Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
Sri C. Atmaram

Resolutions :—

1. Resolved that the printing of the *Reddi Sanchika* be completed by the 31st July 1941; and to request the Editor thereof to expedite the publication within that date.

6. Read the letter from the Local Secretary, Indian History Congress, Hyderabad, Dn.

Resolved that it should be circulated among the local members of the Society.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL
HELD ON 15TH JUNE 1941.

Present:—

Sri N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu
Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
Sri B. V. Krishnarao
Sri C. Atmaram
Sri V. Appa Rao

Resolutions :—

1. The Editor of the *Reddi Sanchika* is requested to expedite the printing of the work.

2. That the Treasurer be requested to advance necessary money for covering postage expenses for the despatch of the *JAHRS*, Vol. XIII, part 1, and be authorised to recover the said advance as soon as the V. P. amounts are received. Vol. XIII part 1 is a V. P. part.

3. That the following gentlemen be elected as *delegates* to the XI Session of the All India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad, (Deccan) to be held in December 1941.

1. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, M. A., B. L.
2. Dr. M. Rama Rao, M. A., PH. D.
3. Mr. R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T.
4. Mr. N. R. Kedari Rao, M. A., L. T.
5. Mr. A. D. Puselkar, M. A., LL. B.
6. Mr. K. J. Gopala Rao, B. A., B. L.

4. That the accounts of the Society up-to-date, i. e. from 18—3—1941 to 15—6—1941 be passed.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL
HELD ON 24—6—1941. (Adjourned meeting)

Present :—

Sri N. Kameswara Rao, President.
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
Sri V. Appa Rao
Sri N. R. Kedari Rao
Sri C. Atmaram

Resolutions :—

1. Resolved to print 64 pages only for the second part of Vol. XIII of the *JAHRS*, and as the Editor reports that 28 pages have already been printed, he is requested to expedite the publication of the issue.

a. The Editor of the *Red li Sanchika* is also requested to bring out the publication by completing it in six weeks from now.

2. Resolved to lend the blocks relating to the article by Swami Pranavandji on spiritual vibration that appeared in the *JAHRS* some time ago, to Mr. S. V. Narasimham, with a request to acknowledge the loan if they are used. The particular block that is required is 'Breaking Ice on Gauri-kund for taking bath.'

3. Resolved to appoint a committee, consisting of the following :—

1. Secretary,
2. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao
3. Mr. G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
4. Mr. N. R. Kedari Rao

framing RULES for governing the LIBRARY & THE READING ROOM.

4. Resolved to hold the Half-Yearly meeting of the Society at the penultimate Saturday in October.

5. Resolved to elect Mr. G. Narayanaswami Aiyer also as a delegate to the XI Oriental Conference to be held in Hyderabad (Dn.)

6. Resolved to send the following gentlemen as *delegates* to the Fifth Indian History Congress to be held in Hyderabad (Dn.)

- 1. Mr B. V. Krishna Rao, M. A., B. L.
- 2. Mr. G. Narayanaswami Aiyer, M. A., L. T.
- 3. Mr. R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T.
- 4. Mr. M. Anna Reddi, M. A., LL. B

• 7. Resolved to pass accounts up-to-date, i. e. from 15—6—1941 to 24—8—41.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL
HELD ON 26—10—1941.

Present :—

Sri N. Kameswara Rao, (*in the chair*) President.
Sri R. Subba Rao
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
Sri M. Anna Reddi
Sri N. R. Kedari Rao
Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
Sri C. Atmaram

Resolutions :—

1. Resolved that in view of the two resolutions passed on 15—6—1941 & 24—6—41 the Editor, Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao is very earnestly requested to finish his article by the end of November at any cost and send it to the Secretary, having regard to the commitments made to the Public and donors by the Society, so that the *Sanchika* may be printed elsewhere, if necessary.

2. Resolved to admit the following periodicals to our Exchange List :

- 1. Journal of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati.
- 2. New Indian Antiquary.

3. Resolved to request the Treasurer to advance a sum of Rs. 100 to the Society personally to meet current expenses, and to authorise him to recover the said sum from the Annual Grant from the Rajahmundry Municipality (which has been sanctioned) when it is received.

4. Resolved to sanction necessary expenditure on articles to be exhibited in the name of the *Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry*, to Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, who will be in sole charge of the Exhibits in the Indian History Congress, Hyderabad, Deccan.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL
HELD ON 18—1—1942.

Present :—

Mr R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T., Vice-President (*in the chair*)
Mr. C. Atmaram
Mr. G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao
Rajah Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur

Resolutions :—

1. The question of expediting printing of *Reddi Sanchika* considered. In view of the statement made by the Editor, that the *Appendix* is ready for the press even now and that his editorial article would be ready for the press in fifteen days more, the Council hopes that the book will be ready by 31st March 1942.

2. Resolved to admit the following gentlemen as ordinary members of the Society, for the year 1941—42.

1. Rao Saheb M. Suryanarayana, M. A., L. T.
Retd. Additional Professor of English, Presidency College,
Danavayipeta, Rajahmundry,
2. Prof. H. G. Banerjee, M. A., BT.
Haverin, Dharwar.
3. Mr. T. Balakrishna Nair, M. A., PH. D. (Lond.)
Chief Lecturer in History, Arts College, Rajahmundry.
4. Prof. Hem Chandra Roy, M. A., PH. D.
Calcutta University, Calcutta.

5. Resolved that the Accounts from 24—8—1941 up-to-date be passed.

6. Resolved to purchase an almyrah for the Society. The price may not exceed Rs. 30/- for the present.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL
HELD ON 20—3—1942.

Present:—

Sri N. Kameswara Rao, President. (*in the chair*)
Sri R. Subba Rao
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
Sri C. Atmaram

Resolutions :—

1. Resolved to hold the Annual meeting of the General body of the Society on 5th April 1942.

2. Accounts from 19—1—1941 to 23—3—1942 have been checked and passed.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL
HELD ON 4—4—1942.

Present :—

Sri R. Subba Rao Vice-President, (*in the chair.*)

Sri C. Atmaram

Sri B. V. Krishna Rao

Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer

Sri N. R. Kedari Rao

Sri M. Anna Reddi

Resolutions :—

Read the Annual Reports drafted by the Secretary, Librarian & Treasurer.

Resolved to adopt them subject to certain amendments made in the margins thereof.

2. Considered the notice given by the House-owner, and read the letter from the Local Branch Secretary of the Bharat Insurance Co. Ltd., informing the Secretary that they are vacating the premises.

It has become necessary to vacate the first floor of the building which the Society's Library & Reading Room has occupied since 1939.

Resolved to request Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao to look into the affair by consulting Mr. P. Bhashyakarlu Aiyengar, the house-owner.

Resolved to appoint Mr. D. Kameswara Rao again as the Auditor for 1941—42 for the Society's accounts and pay him the usual honorarium of Rs. 10/- consolidated for two years.

Resolved that his Report for the year 1940—41 be adopted.

The accounts of the Society up-to-date are checked and passed.

Resolved to raise the salary of the peon from Rs. 7-8-0 to Rs. 8/- per mensem.

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY .

REPORT OF THE HONORARY LIBRARIAN FOR THE YEAR 1939—40.*

The number of visitors to the Library and Reading Room from 1—4—1939 to 31—3—1940 was 1914 as against 1344 for the previous year. It is evident that after the shifting of the Library to the present premises a larger number of people are visiting the same and making use of the facilities afforded to them by the Society. The number of books consulted by the visitors during the same period was 1346 out of which about 130 are either periodicals or books dealing with advanced research.

The additions to the Library during the year consisted of 276 periodicals and 70 books, in all 346. Of the books received 17 were sent to us by the authorities of the Tirupathi Devasthanam and 11 were sent by the Baroda Government and our thanks are due to them for these valuable additions to our library. Among the volumes supplied by the Commissioner Tirupati Devasthanam special mention may be made of the inscriptions of the time of Saluva Narasimha, Krishna Raya Achuta Raya and Sadasiva Raya. Notable among those sent by the Baroda Government are the works, *Mānasōllāsa* by king Someswara, *Sūktimuktāvale* of Bhagadatta Jalhana, *Hamsavilāsa* by Sri Hamsa Mittu, *Tattvasangraha* by Śānti Rakṣita and a Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan. A Bulletin dealing with the 3rd Session of the Indian History Congress, 'Excavations at Pahrānpur, and a Catalogue of the Library at the India office, also deserve special mention among the other books added to the Society's Library during the year.

The number of periodicals on our exchange list is 68. Though on account of the exigencies of the war, we have not of late been receiving some of the foreign periodicals; the number of journals and other periodicals on our exchange list has remained the same as that of last year owing to our receiving new exchanges, among which the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, *Inner Culture Magazine of India*, and *Yoga Mīmāṃsa* may be specially mentioned.

RAJAHMUNDRY }
7—4—1940. }

B. VISWANATHA SASTRY,
Honorary Librarian and Curator.

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

Receipts and Payments A/c for the year 1939-40.

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.
To Opening Balance	... 103 12 10	By Advances to Secretary	... 36 3 3
" Mr. K. J. Gopala Rao	... 1 1 1	" Reddy Empire Day celebrations, Photo, Entertainment and Travelling }	... 154 15 6
" Hon. Treasurer	... 21 1 0	" Miscellaneous	... 14 9 0
" Members' subscription	... 249 0 0	" Postage	... 105 11 0
" Advance recouped from Secretary	... 31 0 0	" Establishment	... 96 1 11
" Municipal Council, Rajahmundry.	... 100 0 0	" Journal printing	... 290 0 0
" Miscellaneous	... 8 13 0	" Rent and Lighting	... 162 0 0
" Sale of Society's publications	... 274 9 0	" Stationery (paper)	... 84 14 6
" Reddy Empire day and Reddi Sanchika }	... 55 0 0	" Clearance of loans	... 104 1 0
" Institutions subscriptions	... 116 0 0	" S. B. A/c	... 3 13 0
" S. B. A/c	... 275 0 0	" Furniture A/c	... 45 8 0
		" Travelling	... 2 4 0
		" Entertainment	... 2 5 0
		" Closing balance	... 132 14 6
	Rs. 1,235 4 11		Rs. 1,235 4 11

Rajahmundry, }
~~1940-41~~
D. 14-3-1941 }

D. KAMESWARA RAO,
Registered Accountant.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

1939—41.

- 1 Sri Duriseti Apparao,
Bar-at-Law, Mylapore, Madras.
- 2 „ Vaddadi Apparao, B.A., B. L., Vakil,
Innispeta, Rajahmundry.
- 3 „ Vissa Apparao, M. A. L. T., Retired Principal,
Rajahmundry, Now Ellore.
- 4 „ Tekumalla Atcyutharao, M. A. L. T.,
Pithapuram.
- 5 „ Chirravuri Atmaram, B. A., B. L., Vakil,
Innespeta, Rajahmundry.
- 6 „ Banerjee S., M. A., Lecturer, Govt. High School,
Mirzapur (U. P)
- 7 „ Rao Bahadur T. Bhagavantam Gupta, Retired Collector,
Satyanilayam, Thyagarayanagar, P. O. Madras.
- 8 „ Dewan Bhahadur T. Bhujanga Rao, Retired District Judge,
Basavangudi, Bangalore.
- 9 J. B. Brown, Esq. I. C. S.,
Commissioner of Excise, Madras.
- 10 „ Dr. A. K. Coomaraswami, Museum of Fine Arts,
Boston. U. S. A.
- 11 Rev. G. Coleman, Missionary, Luthergiri,
Rajahmundry.
- 12 Sri K. J. Gopalarao B. A., B. L. Zamindar,
Rajahmundry.
- 13 „ K. Iswara Dutt, B.A., L.F., Auditor
Cocanada.
- 14 „ Prof. Henry Heras M. A., S. J. Professor of History,
St. Xaviers College, Bombay.
- 15 „ Dr. G. Jouveau, Dubreuil, Professor,
Pondicherry.
- 16 „ D. Ch. Kameswara Rao, B. A.
Venugopalaswami Kovil street, Rajahmundry
- 17 „ Nyapathi Kameswara Rao, B. A., B. L. Advocate,
Rajahmundry.
- 18 „ Hon. Dewan Bahadur K. P. Lakshmana Rao B. A., B. L.,
Judge, High Court, Mylapore, P.O. Madras.
- 19 „ Kalipada Mitra M. A., Head master, D. J. College
Monghyr, Behár.
- 20 „ B. V. S. Narayana Deo, Manager Bissemkatak estate,
Belgaum, Parvatipur, Vizag Dt.

- 21 „ D. L. Narayana, B. A., B. L., Vakil.
Brodiepet, Guntur.
- 22 „ Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer,
C. D. College, Anantapur.
- 23 „ Paramananda Acharya, B.Sc. State Archæologist,
Baripada Mayurbhanj state.
- 24 Capt K. Perraju,
Proprietor, Cocanada.
- 25 „ Vepa Purnayya, B. A., B. L.,
Retired Sub Judge, Vizagpatam.
- 26 „ Prof. Datto Vaman Potdar,
112, Sukravarpet, Poona.
- 27 „ Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan M.A., D. Litt., Vice-Chancellor,
Benares Hindu University, Benares.
- 28 Sri K. Raghavachari, M. A., B. L., Advocate,
Cocanada.
- 29 „ Pandit Manvaraya Pandit Hemraj Rajguruji C.I.E.,
Dhokatole, Nepal.
- 30 „ Chitrapu Nagaraju, B. A., Proprietor, Razan Press,
Rajahmundry.
- 31 „ Dr. M. Ramarao, M. A., Ph. D., Lecturer,
Hindu college, Guntur.
- 32 „ G. Ramadas Pantulu, B. A.,
Ramachandra Vilas, Jeypore, Orissa.
- 33 Sir V. Ramesam, B. A., B. L.,
Edward Elliots Road, Mylapore, P. O. Madras.
- 34 P. S. Rao, Esq., M. A., I. C. S. Commissioner of Excise,
Nagpur, C. P.
- 35 „ Dr. C. Ramalingareddi, D. Litt. Vice Chancellor,
Maharanipeta, Vizagapatam (Now Guntur).
- 36 „ Rev. J. Russel Fink, S. J. Missionary,
Rentachinthala.
- 37 Sri M. Sambasivarao, Pleader.
Rajahmundry.
- 38 „ M. Annarreddi, M. A., LL. B. Advocate,
Rajahmundry.
- 39 „ A. Sankara Rao, B. A., L. T., Teacher
V. H. School, Rajahmundry.
- 40 „ V. S. Ramachandramurti, M.A., B.Ed., Teacher,
P. R. College, Cocanada.
- 41 „ Dr. B. A. Saletore, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt.,
5, Shreemali, Ahmedabad.
- 42 „ Dr. N. Venkataramayya M. A., Ph. D.,
Reader, Madras University, Madras.

- 43 „ Dr. K. R. Subrahmanyam.
Maharajah's College, Vizianagaram.
- 44 „ Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.Ph.D.,
2/1 Loveluck St.Ballygung, Calcutta.
- 45 „ C. Sanyasiraju,
Innespeta, Rajahmundry.
- 46 „ R. Visweswara Rao, M. A. B. T. Teacher,
Nidadavole.
- 47 „ Rebbapragada Subbarao, B. A., B. L., Advocate,
Rajahmundry.
- 48 „ Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayya, Advocate General,
Mylapore, Madras.
- 49 „ Jandhyala Ramarao, Accounts Officer,
E. B. Railway, Mugalsarai, Benares.
- 50 „ M. Sreeramachari,
Main Road, Rajahmundry.
- 51 „ D. Sandilya, M. A., (Oxon.) Accounts Officer, G. I. P. Ry,
Bombay.
- 52 „ A. D. Pusalkar M.A., LL.B.
324. Vallabhai Patel Road, Bombay.
- 53 „ Dr. R. C. Mazumdar M.A., Ph. D.,
Vice Chancellor, Dacca University, P. O. Ramna.
- 54 „ D. C. Sarkar, M.A., Ph. D., Lecturer, Calcutta University,
Calcutta.
- 55 „ Kotta Bhavayya Choudari,
Sangam Jagarlamudi P. O., Guntur Dt
- 56 „ Sripada Lakshmipathi Sastry, Department of Oriental Studies,
Madras University, Madras.
- 57 „ Chaganti Sankara Rao, M.A.,B.L.,
No. 8 Bandla Venugopal street, Triplicane, Madras.
- 58 „ Raja Sri Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadeb,
Raja Bahadur Raja of Tekkali, Tekkali.
- 59 „ Raja Sri Gopinath Harichandan Jagadeb Bahadur, Raja of
Tekkali Tekkali (died).
- 60 „ Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari Avl. M. A., Professor,
Annamalai University, Annamalai nagar, Chidambaram.
- 61 „ V. Jayaram Das,
Vetapalem, P. O. Guntur Dt.
- 62 „ B. Mallappa, Muncipal Commissioner,
Masulipatam.
- 63 „ Korada Ramakrishnayya, Madras University,
Madras.

- 64 „ B. V. Krishnarao, M. A., B. L., Pleader,
Rajahmundry.
- 65 „ T. Venkataratnam, M. A., L. T., Lecturer,
A.C. College, Guntur.
- 66 „ D. Venkatarao, M.A., L.T., Lecturer, C. D. College,
Anantapur.
- 67 „ Prof. M. Venkatarangayya, M.A., Andhra University,
Guntur.
- 68 „ G. Venkatrao, M. A., LL. B. Andhra University,
Guntur.
- 69 „ Vavilia Venkateswara Sast rulu,
Srotriendrar, Tondiarpetta, Madras.
- 70 „ M. S. H. Thompson, Esq., Inspector of European schools,
Bangalore.
- 71 „ V. Govindarajachari, B. A., B. L., Advocate,
Mylapore, Madras.
- 72 „ Dr. V. Sri Ram, M. A., Ph. D., Head of the Department of
Politics, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
- 73 „ Sree Raja Kandregula Srinivasa Jagannadharao Bahadur,
Zamindar, Rajahmundry.
- 74 „ B. Viswnatha Sastri, M.A., B.ED., Advocate,
Masulipatam.
- 75 „ Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M. A., Department of Sanskrit,
Nagpur University, Nagpur.
- 76 „ K. Venkatrao, B.A.,L.T., Headmaster, S.T.V.N. High school,
Pentapadu.
- 77 „ Gudavalli Ramabrahmam Chaudari,
159 Loyds Road, Mylapore, Madras.
- 78 Rev. W. T. Benzi, U. L. C. Mission,
Peddapuram.
- 79 Rev. A. Gotwald, Missionary,
Chirala.
- 80 „ M. V. Subrahmanyam, Esq., I. C. S., District Collector,
South Kenera, Mangalore.
- 81 „ Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archæology,
New Delhi.
- 82 „ Rao Saheb V. Gopalarao Naidu, Pensioner,
Rajahmundry. (died)
- 83 Lt. Col. T. G. Gibson, Guardian, of the minor Maharaja of •
Bastar state, Jagdalpore, Bastar.
- 84 Sri Gorrepati Venkatasubbayya,
Ghantasala, Kristna Dt.
- 85 „ Dr. P. Sreenivasachar M. A., Ph.D.
Principal, S. R. R. College, Bezvada.

- 86 „ M. Somasekhara Sarma,
Tutor in Epigraphy Andhra University, Guntur. . .
- 87 „ Prof. Abdul Majid Siddique, M. A., Osmania University
Hyderabad (Dn.).
- 89 „ Sreeman Purna Chandra Rath, B. A., Superintendent of
Archæology, Bolangir, Patna state, Orissa.
- 90 Rallabandi Subba Rao, M.A.,L.T.,
Lecturer, Arts College, Rajahmundry.
- 91 N. R. Kedari Rao, Lecturer,
Teachers College, Saidapet.
- 92 G. Narayanaswami Ayyar. M.A. L.T., Lecturer,
Govt. Arts College, Rajahmundry.
- 93 Vidwan G. J. Somayaji, M. A., Department of Telugu,
Andhra University, Guntur.
- 94 Rao Saheb M. Suryanarayana, M. A. L. T., Pensioner,
Danavaipeta, Rajahmundry.
- 95 H. G. Bengeri, M. A., B: T.
Haveri, Dharwar.
- 96 B. Balakrishnan Nair, Govt Arts College,
Danavayipeta, Rajahmundry.
- 97 Prof. Hemchandra Ray. M.A.,Ph.D.,
Lecturer, Calcutta University, Calcutta.
- 98 R. Venkatasivudu, M.A., Retired Principal,
Danavayipeta, Rajahmundry.
- 99 K. N. Anantaraman, Esq., M.A.,I.C.S.,
Estate Collector, Vizianagaram.
- 100 V. B. Raju, Esq., M.A.,I.C.S.,
Judge, Karachi, Sind.
- 101 „ P. Sitaramayya, Kharagpur.
- 102 „ S. N. Rao, B.A.,LL.B., (Cantab),
Deputy Collector, Ootacamand.

OUR EXCHANGES.

- 1 Aryan Path, 51 Esplanade Road, Bombay.
- 2 *Andhra Sahitya Parishat Patrika*, Cocanada.
- 3* *Archiv Orientalni*, Prague, Czechoslovakia.
- 4* Asia Major, Ballygunje, Calcutta.
- 5 *Bharati*, Madras, 7 Thambu chetty Street.
- 6 Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U. S. A.
- 7* *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gessellschaft*, Halle
Germany.
- 8* Educational Review, Mount Road, Madras.
- 9 *Epigraphia Indica*.
- 10 *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*.
- 11 Journal of the Academy of Philosophy and Religion, Poona.
- 12 *Griha Lakshmi*. Royapettah, Madras.
- 13 Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
- 14 *Jaina Gazette*.
- 15 Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- 16 Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay.
- 17 Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
- 18 Journal of Indian History, Madras.
- 19 Journal of the Bombay Br. of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- 20 Journal of the Historical Society, Exchange Buildings, Bombay.
- 21 Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.
- 22 Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
- 23 Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay.
- 24 Journal of the Geographical Association, Madras.
- 26 Journal of the United Provinces Research Society, Lucknow.
- 27 Journal of the Assam Research Society, Gauhati.
- 28 Journal of the Bombay University, Bombay.
- 29 *Karnataka Sahitya Parishat Patrika*, Bangalore.
- 30 *Man in India*, Ranchi. Bihar.
- 31 Bulletin of the Ramavarma Research Society, Trichur.
- 32 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Colombo.
- 33 *Maha Bodhi* 4 A. College Square Calcutta.
- 34 Modern Review, Calcutta.
- 35* Le Monde, Oriental Upsala, Norway.
- 36 Philosophical Quarterly, Amalner, East Khandesh.
- 37 Papers of the Kerala Society, Trivandrum, Travancore.
- 38 Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.
- 39 *Journal of Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat*, Calcutta.
- 40 Annual Reports & Memoirs of the Director General of Archæological Survey of India, New Delhi.
- 41 Annual Reports etc. of Archæological Department of the

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Nizam's Govt. Hyderabad (Deccan).

- 42 Archæological Department of the Government of Mysore, Mysore.
- 43 Archæological Department of Travancore.
- 44 Archæological Department, Djawa (Java).
- 45 Smithsonian Society, Washington, U. S. A.
- 46* Publications of Kern Institute, Lieden, Holland.
- 47 Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
- 48 *Bharata Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandala*, 314, Sadasivpet, Poona.
- 49 Gækwad's Oriental Institute, Baroda.
- 50 Superintendent, Government Museum, Egmore, Madras.
- 51* Superintendent, *Musie Guimet*, Paris.
- 52 Superintendent, Department of Archæology, Gwalior.
- 53* *Academy des Beaux-arts*, Institute de France, Paris.
- 54 Journal of the Annamalai University, Annamalai-nagar.
- 55 Indian Culture, Calcutta.
- 56 Prabudha Karnataka
- 57* Bibliographic Bhoudhique.
- 58 *Publications* of the Varendra Research Society, Rajsashi.
- 59* *Acta Orientalia*, Leyden.
- 60 Nagari Pracharani Patrika, Benares.
- 61 Triveni, Madras.
- 62 Annual Report of the Watson Museum of Antiquities, Rajkot.
- 63 Director of Archæological Survey of Ceylon, Colombo.
- 64 Shrine of Wisdom Aahlu 6, Arman Hill, London. E. 11.
- 65 Brahma Vidya, Bulletin of Adayar Library Adayar Madras.
- 66 Bulletin of the School of the Oriental studies—London University.

* Those marked with asterisk are not now received.

